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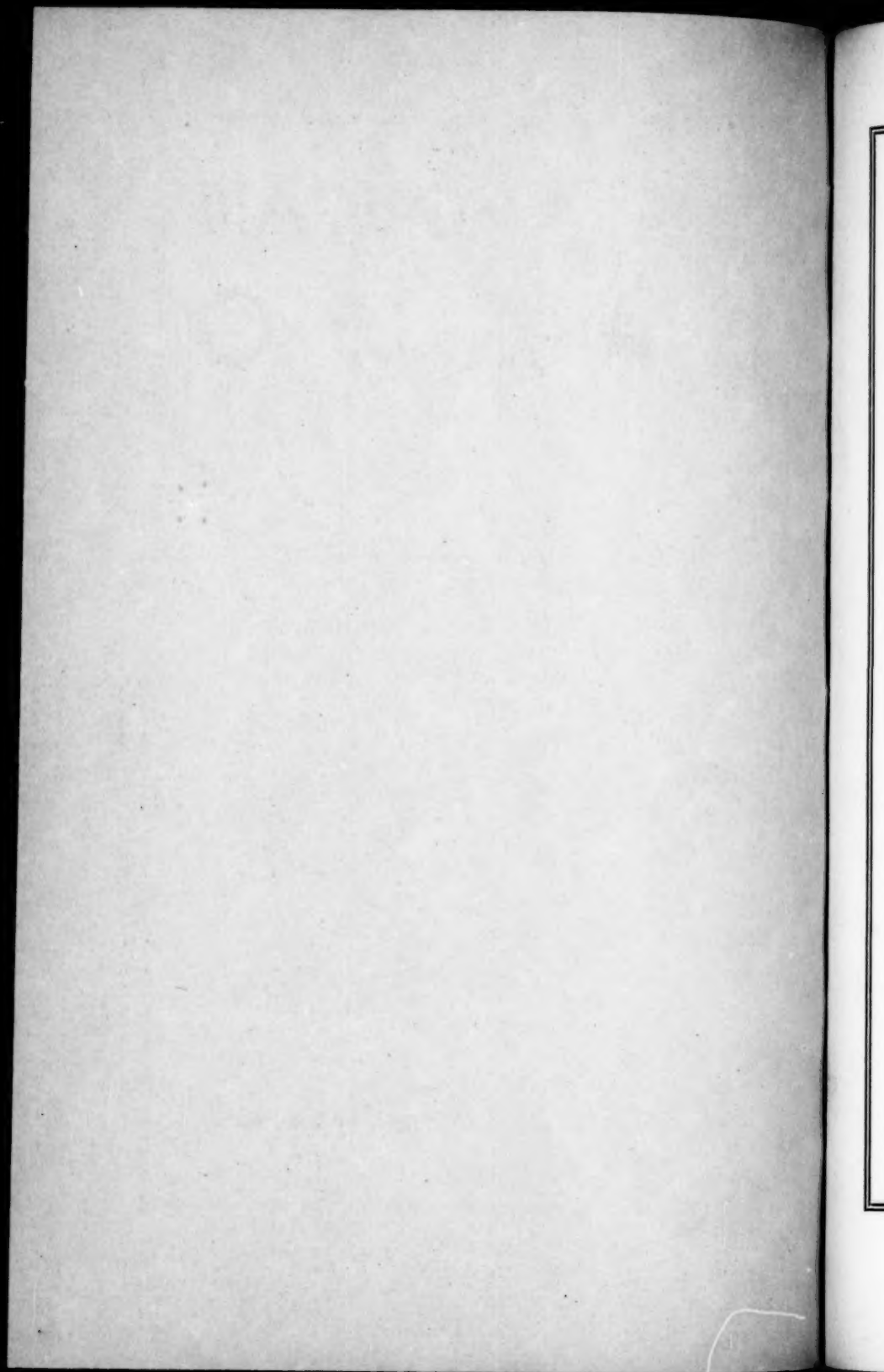
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*A Psychoanalytic Journal  
for the Arts and Sciences*

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## THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF MAN AND HIS IDEOLOGICAL MILIEU

### A PRIMAL SCENE FROM ANCIENT EGYPT AND ITS ROLE IN THE GENESIS OF A COSMOLOGY\*

By GEORGE B. WILBUR, M.D.

Readers of Freud are familiar with his statement that there are striking parallels and analogies between the work of the archeologist and that of the psycho-analyst in uncovering and reconstructing the buried past to show how the present state of affairs arose. But so far as I know nobody has taken this parallel seriously enough to hunt out and consistently examine an instance from archeology to see how far the feeling of its existence is justified and to what extent it depends only on a specious appearance such as might be produced by the paronomastic capacities of our verbal formulas.

One difficulty in tracing out such a parallelism is, of course, the consequence of lack of familiarity that the exploiters of one field of endeavor have with the findings in the other field. Instances suitable for psychoanalytic considerations do not come readily to hand as presented in the writings of the archeologists, who are not interested in the least in presenting their material from this standpoint. If they were to so venture they would expect their amateurish efforts to be met by an attitude of scorn from the experts in the other field.

One would expect to find the best instances for our purpose of comparison in the field of Egyptology, and it so happens that there is at least one instance which seems ideally designed for that purpose. But not only for that purpose. We may use it also as a basis from which to consider another underlying or related feeling which makes us wish to assume certain postulates in theorizing about sociological phenomena and behavior. And so we will extend our investigations of the present instance to have a

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\*Expanded from a paper read to the Boston Psychoanalytic Society December 10, 1941.

look at one such postulate which ever recurs to writers, that proposition which postulates a reciprocal relationship between man and his ideological milieu\* or, less specifically, between man and his culture.

Such a reciprocal relationship is postulated in the so-called sociological biogenetic law which in one form or another constantly recurs to the minds of writers and is as frequently critically attacked by others. Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, it is said, following Haeckel's embryological formula. It seems to have occurred to few to try reversing this formula and see what happens. One is permitted to wonder if in the sociological field phylogeny does not recapitulate ontogeny.

One of the apparently well founded beliefs of the psychoanalyst is that behind any constantly recurring idea, even of a delusional sort, is to be found a substantial and demonstrable truth, provided only that the delusional formula or statement be reapplied to the field from which it sprang and from which it was displaced to produce the delusional appearance. We are constrained to think as we do for reasons which can be discovered, and which with deeper investigations show an ever increasing approximation to being exact descriptions of fact. And if belief in this assertion in turn is considered the product of delusion, we may ask, on the basis of what idea or system of ideas is this conclusion reached? Let us accept then provisionally this psychoanalytic belief and proceed with our investigations of the postulated reciprocal relationship of man and his culture.

Our investigation is not going to be concerned with the more general statement of the postulate in question, but with a theological version or application of it which is easily given by the expedient of equating a god with the culture which he epitomizes and which runs: God created man in the image of his god. As we shall see when we come to our concrete material, our primal scene, one of the motives which led the ancient Egyptian artificer to depict the scene was his purpose to state our postulate in a particularly concrete form. And when we come to consider how, when and why the picture came into existence both as a whole and in its details we shall see the exemplification of the reciprocal version

\*A term to which my attention was called by D. G. Haring.

of the postulate: man created his god in man's own image.\* If we brush aside the animistic ideologies of the ancient theologians and consider the formula in terms of a psychological ideology, we shall find both versions of the postulate to be demonstrably true, which is to say that there are psychological and cultural phenomena to which we can apply the formula in a *comprehensive* way. We shall see man creating God in man's image, not merely in his physical somatic image but also in his psychological image. We shall see in what sense this god may truly be said to create a man. We shall look into the question of whether in writing the biography of a god we do not learn something of the psychogenesis of man his creator, who will by the process of projection have been unwittingly creating a vast "influencing machine" in creating the structure of his religious culture. We shall see that such an "influencing machine" works by being a sort of sieve which selects out from a heterogeneous mass that which should be preserved to *maintain the influencing machine*. In part this is done by an effort thus to rationalize what is essentially irrational. I shall seek to show that the structure of the totality of the Egyptian religious construction bears a remarkable resemblance to the tri-partite structure of the human personality as worked out by psychoanalysis. If this is correct, then we may use that creation of the ancient Egyptians as a source of inferences. Not that which is explicit and professed in it, especially in its

\*Freud's version of this postulate runs: "the mythological conceptions of the world were created out of man's endo-psychic perceptions of psychic factors and unconscious relations taken as a model and projected into the outer world to construct a transcendental reality." (Psychopathology of Everyday Life, New York, 1916, p. 309.) Freud's version is only a modern form of an ancient bit of insight into man's relation to his culture. The satirist Xenophanes of Colophon (b. circa 565 B.C.) stated: "If oxen or horses or lions had hands and could draw with them and make works of art as men do, horses would draw the shapes of gods like horses, oxen like oxen; each kind would represent their bodies just like their own forms." Quoted from Greek Religious Thought by F. M. Cornford, New York, Dutton, 1923.

\*\*Victor Tausk took over the name from a schizophrenic but the process is not restricted to schizophrenic activity. It would require no intricate train of thought to subsume this particular variety of creativity under the more general heading of pygmalionism which Reik (A Psychologist Looks at Love) has now attempted to show also covers the creating (finding) of the living love object. In 1907 Freud in his analysis of Jensens Gradiva deals with the topic in an implicit way. In the same year Rank published his *Kunstler* which attempts to create the whole theory of the process in terms of the then libido theory.

verbal accompaniments, but that which is implicit and to the Egyptians themselves completely unknown. No doubt some ancient Egyptians were sociologically self-conscious after some crude fashion, but we may surmise that no point of view then extant gave them a basis from which to observe their own doings as we shall do. They could not be self-conscious about the aspects of their social life of which we are now conscious because for one thing the metapsychological way of looking at things had not been invented.

Just as little as in the presentation of a clinical case has this writer succeeded in finding an adequate means of reporting the confusing mixture of the past in the present and of the present in the past that we are confronted with here. Anything less than a four dimensional means of representation is on the face of it a misrepresentation of the nature of our work. We have to interpret directly a bit of archeological group behavior which in turn is an ever changing interpretation of an ancient palimpsest. Our purpose is to consider what psychological and metapsychological motivation we can attribute to the creators of the palimpsest. Since this essay is an inquiry and not a report of answers completely learned; is speculative rather than authoritative; needs must take for granted some ability by the workers in one field to intuitively understand the vocabulary of the workers in a different field; and will no doubt show veerings of aim on the part of the writer due to oversights, omissions and altering insights, its reading calls for tolerance and patience for what will seem a meandering manner of presentation. A prospectus of our course will perhaps be of aid.

1. A general description of the "repressed" primal scene which forms the central but purely incidental point around which our story is built up.
2. The story of the discovery of this scene. The uncovering of the repression by the archeologists.
3. The meaning of this primal scene in its setting in the Egyptian ideological milieu and justification for calling it repressed. A consideration of the political motives leading to the creation of the primal scene phantasy.

4. A brief analysis of the contents of the primal scene as to unconscious motivation leading to the discussion of how this content epitomizes the dynamics of Egyptian cultural development and displays in a displaced form what we cannot know directly about the psychology of the individual Egyptian.
5. A brief account of the relationship of this epitomization to the psycho-sexual ontogeny of an Egyptian man as reflected in Egyptian theology, and a comparison of this with its psychoanalytic equivalent.

Except for the pyramids and a few other tombs, and some monuments like the Sphinx, the oldest visible relics of ancient Egyptian culture were a series of temples erected to various gods and dating from the 18th Dynasty (*circa* 1300 B. C.) up to Roman times. Until recent excavations showed the contrary, it was considered that the most ancient of these temples, and for many reasons the most remarkable, was one at ancient Thebes, Deir el Bahri,\* the Convent of the North, so-called from its later use. It was a temple dedicated to the worship of the god Amun-Re, who had at the time of its construction become the chief god, a position which he retained, except for a few brief moments, throughout the remainder of Egyptian history. He finally became merged with the Graeco-Roman Zeus as the god Jupiter Ammon. The temple of Deir el Bahri was in a very bad state of preservation until excavated and restored by Naville in 1893. We are concerned with a story depicted on the walls of this 18th Dynasty temple.

Like all subsequent temples there is on a wall intended to be viewed by the general public a pictorial biography and accompanying text which tells of the Pharaoh who had erected or caused to be erected this temple. We now know to be true the claims made in this biography as to the greatness of this particular Pharaoh. But although it is now known that this Pharaoh had many claims to be considered one of the greatest Egyptians that ever lived, the name and existence of this person had remained

\*Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahri*, Pt. II, Egyptian Exploration Fund, London, 1896.

completely unknown until the middle of the 19th century A. D. There is no trace of such a person in the lists of monarchs left us by Manetho and other ancient chroniclers. The Pharaoh who succeeded the builder of the temple was well known, being recognized in history as the first great world conqueror, Thutmose III.

The biography with which we are concerned contains many scenes which could interest us greatly. We will confine ourselves to one out of the first seventeen which depict the childhood of the Pharaoh. These seventeen scenes give in a stereotyped and formalized way an account of how and why the gods assembled and determined to produce a Pharaoh, how this child was engendered and constructed in utero by the potter god, of the birth and nature of the child, who is pictured as a nude boy, and terminate with the presentation of this boy to his father the god, Amun-Re, and the acceptance by the father of the boy as his successor on earth. The remaining scenes which picture the actual historical life of this Pharaoh will not interest us. We will notice in passing that one scene has taken up into itself a reference to an earlier 11th Dynasty temple nearby by picturing in a corner a boy being given suck by a cow who is Hathor.

The scene with which we are concerned and which serves as our point of departure for this essay is one which pictures the engendering the child. It shows the hieros gamos, or as I shall call it, the primal scene, since it pictures to the future king and the world the sexual intercourse of the parents. The illiterate and unsophisticated spectator today, however, would never suspect this to be a picture of such an act. For all he would see would be a man and a woman with knees interlaced and seated face to face on a kind of bench. The couple are being supported in the air by two goddesses who hold their feet. On the side of the man, who is Amun-Re, is Neith (a form of Hathor), on the side of the woman, Aahmose, is Selkis or Serquit, a scorpion goddess identified with Isis, who was the wife and sister of Osiris. The two goddesses are seated on a kind of lion couch which represents the marital bed. The whole is interpreted by Breasted\* as a way

\*Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vol. VI, p. 76.



of picturing the state of ecstasy. I can find no account of why these two goddesses were the chosen ones to support the act.

The passage of semen from man to woman is replaced by the passage from the left hand of the man to the nostrils of the woman of the well known *ankh*, the emblem which connotes "life." With his right hand the man passes into the left hand of the woman the *ankh* and another emblem, a staff, connoting good fortune or something of that sort. The man in the picture is the god Amun-Re, who has taken the form of the king and earthly husband, Thutmose I. The woman is the Queen, Aahmose, mother of the Pharaoh to be.

But even the literate viewer of this scene unless deeply versed in the euphemisms and paronomasias characteristic of the Egyptian language would hardly take it for what it represents. As Grapow\* remarks of the accompanying text: "the description . . . which even to the one determinant of the phallus in the word 'ardent' (enflamed) enters so completely into plays on words and circumlocutions that one would not really think that an act of copulation was being described."

Today one has various choices of translation of the accompanying text, depending perhaps on the tendency to euphemism in the translator. I choose one given by Blackman.\*\*

"This august god Amun, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (i.e., Karnak) came when he had made his mode of being the majesty of this her husband, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt. . . . They (i.e., the combination of god and king) found her as she slept in the beauty of her palace. She awoke because of the savour of the god, and she laughed in the presence of his majesty. He came to her straightaway. He was ardent for her. He gave his heart unto her. He let her see him in his form of a god, after he came before her. She rejoiced at beholding his beauty, his love it went through her body. The palace was flooded with the savour of the god, all his odours were as (those of) Punt. Then the majesty of this god did all he desired with her. She let him rejoice over her. She kissed him . . ."

\*Grapow, *Die Bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, Leipzig, 1924, s. 18.

\*\*Alyward M. Blackman, *The Position of Woman in the Egyptian Hierarchy*, *Jour. of Egypt. Arch.* VII, 1921, p. 17.

Aahmose says: "How great is thy fame. It is splendid to see thy front, thou hast united my majesty with thy favors, thy dew is in all my limbs."

To which Amun-Re replies, naming the child to be and announcing that the child shall exercise a kingship over Egypt, and that the child shall have his soul, power, high respect and crown.

Just like many ancient documents on parchment this biography on stone is a palimpsest. It had been defaced and mutilated, rewritten in part, in places texts originally in relief are now incised. In places it had been plastered over and painted where it was not possible to restore by chiseling what had been destroyed. Our particular scene had been completely destroyed and what we have is a later restoration painted on plaster. There is a slip of the pen in the text which seems to point to the restoration having been made in the time of Rameses II about two centuries later. Let me say here that although much has been written about this biography there is no one account which brings together the many things known about this picture. Many men have chosen to talk about some one or two items, and it is interesting to observe that the work of repression, as shown in the tendency to euphemism, still goes on.

Although we have here a restoration it is generally believed that this is a reasonably faithful copy of the original. This belief seems to rest on the idea that this particular scene was copied in many later temples, which copies then served as a model from which to restore the original. I am not certain that it has not been overlooked that these later copies were possibly made from the restoration and not the original. Against this the archeologist can put the very evident fact that the Egyptians seem to have been almost obsessional at times in preserving old documents, recopying on stone those important ones that seemed likely to disappear with the papyrus or wood on which they were originally recorded.

This scene of hieros gamos does occur again with very little variation a number of times in the stereotyped biographies which occur on temple walls. It became in fact one of the stock episodes in such a biography down into Roman times. But so far as is now known, only once again, at Luxor, was it used in the biography



of a human being. King Amenhotep III, the ninth king of the 18th Dynasty. In all the other cases it was a scene in the biography of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. Thus it would seem almost as if something that was invented and told of a human being first was then displaced to the god and thenceforth restricted to this application. This was not always the course of events, as we shall see presently.

So far as we know this scene at Deir el Bahri is the oldest of such scenes and is probably the first to have been constructed.\* The designer of it is thought to have made use of a 5th Dynasty fable which speaks of three kings of that dynasty who were supposed to be the sons of the Sun, Re.\*\* Certain it is that from the 5th Dynasty on the kings bore as one of their names the title "Son of Re." Nevertheless it is suggested that in the 18th Dynasty, probably with this very scene, a grossly sexual meaning was given to an older conception of the divine parentage of the pharaoh. The earlier idea had been that the pharaoh was represented as being reborn daily by being washed by priests dressed to represent the Sun-god Re.\*\*\*

Many of the scenes of this particular biography look like they would be adaptable to dramatic representation and acting out. Whether any or all of them were at this time acted out in the religious ceremonials, I have been unable to learn. It does appear that in later stages such scenes as are here depicted are really representations of ritualistic performances and ceremonies carried out by priests wearing masks and decked out to represent the various actors, human and divine.† There is at least one later sculpture which pictures this clearly. The inscriptions accompanying the pictures have been interpreted as the text to be recited at the performances.††

\*Naviile, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 12.

\*\*Pap. Westcar, pl. IX, l. L 21, *et seq.*

\*\*\*Blachman, *Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt*. Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch. 40, 1918, p. 91.

†Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17, and above all 31, clearly show masked priests.

††Moret: *Du caractere religieux de la Royaute Pharaonique*, Paris 1902. Cf. especially chap. 2: *La naissance divine du Pharaoh*. There is good reason to believe that such scenes of hieros gamos were actually publically enacted in Mesopotamia. v. Andrae: *Jungern Ishtar Temple in Assur*, Leipzig, 1935, Taf. 46. And we have some authority for believing that something of the sort

What remains to be said about this scene we will reserve until after we consider the history of its construction and of the politico-religious problem it was proposed to solve by means of it.

The discovery of this biography, the person referred to in it and the meaning of the whole purely as a fact of history, reads like the story of the discovery of a bit of repressed material in the analysis of an individual.\* We make use of the analogy merely for the purpose of presenting our material in a convenient form. We have an analogy to the phenomenon known as "return of the repressed." Whether this analogy is to be considered completely specious or not depends on how one thinks of the act of repression and return of the repressed. We are not here confronted with the effects of submerged and bottled up forces obtruding on our notice something out of the past. On the contrary what we notice comes to our attention through no powers of its own, but simply because it is what is found as the consequence of the work of present day forces delving back into the past. The same could be said perhaps of the work of analysis in the individual patient. In our archeological instance the story itself is like the story of the uncovering of a repression. This is purely fortuitous and accidental. And this even though the buried material was buried in consequence of something exactly comparable on a social scale to an act of repression in an individual.

Some time in the 1820s Champollion was grubbing around near ancient Thebes (now Luxor) on the east bank of the Nile in the remains of an early Christian convent, Deir el Bahri (Convent of the North), built in an old temple to Amun-Re. He discovered on some rocks some Egyptian inscriptions that had been plastered over by the monks and painted with pictures of saints. He was able to make out the name of Thutmose III inscribed over that of another Pharaoh, which he read as Amenthe. He found a portrait of Amenthe showing him dressed as a male

went on at Mendes between a woman and a ram (Amun) in later days. See Herodotus, ii, 46. For a discussion and further references, see Wiedemann: Herodots zweites Buch, Leipzig, 1890.

\*My reconstruction of events is taken for the most part from Naville, *op. cit.* Winlock in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1928 and subsequent years, II. Cf. also Shorter, An Introduction to Egyptian Religion, London, 1931.

and, as was usual, wearing the false beard worn by the Pharaohs. This name Amenthe was one completely unknown to history. But the thing that puzzled Champollion was that the inscriptions were written in the feminine form, used feminine pronouns, and spoke of Amenthe as the daughter of Re instead of the son of Re as was customarily the way the Pharaoh was named. Champollion reached the unsatisfactory explanation that there had been a queen Amense, sister of Thutmose II, who was married to an unknown Thutmose as her first husband. When this man died, Amense took Amenthe for her second husband and on her death this man had reigned conjointly and as regent with Thutmose III.

Wilkensen, who came along within a few months of Champollion, was able to prove that there had been no queen Amense and that the unknown Thutmose was Thutmose II. All this did not help much and did not explain why a man should be called a woman or vice versa. Further bits of knowledge were added by later excavators and curio hunters, and many wild phantasies as each new fragment of knowledge was worked over. In 1893 Edouard Naville excavated the temple extensively and was able to reduce the chaos to some sort of order. And so it stood until Winlock made a much more exhaustive excavation in the 1920s for the Metropolitan Museum of New York. To carry out his work he even had to remove a small tourist hotel in order to get at a temple dump which filled an old quarry hole and on which this hotel had been built. He was able on the basis of his discoveries to make many corrections in a story that had been thought to be reasonably complete.

The event which had suffered repression (and you will hear shortly why I say that) and which we wish to restore to its rightful place in history was thus concerned with a man who was a woman, or a woman who became a man. We wish to know how, when, and why this happened, and what it had to do with the temple at Deir el Bahri.

The temple was built by a man named Senmut in the service of and at the behest of a queen Hatshepsut, who was the aunt and stepmother as well as mother-in-law to Thutmose III. How and why this complex relationship came about we shall speak of below; here we would simply remark that it generated on the

part of Thutmose III a good deal of hate directed at Hatshepsut and possibly also at Senmut. Since 1927 A. D. we have known that the latter fell out of favor and suddenly disappeared from the scene in the year 1483 B. C. or thereabouts. Whether he merely died or was murdered is not known. It is known that an uncompleted tomb, intended by him to be his final resting place and presumptuously quarried out under this very temple to Amun he was building as a memorial to Hatshepsut and her father, was wrecked and closed up by somebody, Hatshepsut or Thutmose. In this tomb on the walls were inscriptions bracketing together the names of Hatshepsut and Senmut in an interesting way but one of which we cannot now determine the significance. The name of Senmut but not that of Hatshepsut was chiselled out nearly everywhere and the tomb closed up and buried from sight. One very excellent and lifelike trial portrait sketch and inscription escaped the wreckers, perhaps because it was in an obscure corner. To this sketch and to a fragment of bookkeeping on a potshe'd we owe much of what we definitely know about Senmut. Senmut's many statues were all broken up and thrown into the dump where they were covered over by later refuse to remain undisturbed until 1927 A. D.

In 1479 B. C., four years after Senmut's disappearance, Hatshepsut died and her name and figure were chiselled out of the monuments throughout the land. Her statues were broken up and thrown on top of Senmut's. This must have been done by command of Thutmose III, who thus clearly expressed his intention of completely obliterating from history for all time her name and personality. It so happens that the ancient Egyptians considered an important part of the meaning of immortality to be the preservation of these two modes of being, the name and the figure. Wherever he could Thutmose appropriated Hatshepsut's inscriptions for himself. About a 100 years later, the name and figure of the god Amun was chiselled out by Akhenaton who attempted to establish a new monotheistic religion around the personification of the concept of the sun's disk, Aten. Akhenaton is well known to psychoanalysts. Again a 100 or so years later, the pious Rameses II attempted to restore everything to its original form by plastering over the destroyed

inscriptions and painting on again the pictures and inscriptions which had been destroyed. Many centuries later the early Christian monks used the temple for a quarry, replastering many of the stones and painting them with pictures of Christian saints. The rock slides from the cliffs covered the rest.

We see at work here on a social scale a process aimed at the obliteration from the social consciousness of the perpetrators of some idea or ideas, the while, as we shall see, it sought to retain the effects of the circumstances that led to those ideas. What these retained ideas were will become apparent in what follows. It seems to me entirely correct in this instance to extend the use of the word and concept "repression" to this social process.

The story that was subjected to the sifting process of repression has been reconstructed by archeologists and historians and now seems fairly complete and correct after many failures. I may say that the story of this man-woman Hatshepsut has exercised the imagination and pens of a great many men in the last 100 years. My only regret is that we shall not have time to consider some of the many phantasies this material gave rise to.

In brief, the story concerns an attempt to solve a politico-religious problem of great importance in the maintenance of the structure of the Egyptian state. In the very elaborate hierarchical politico-religious system in Egypt, which had the function of giving dramatic representations of ancient myths, the kingship was hereditary and descended to the oldest surviving child of the woman known as the God's Wife, the Great Royal Wife. But since the king, the Pharaoh, was a high-priest and the representative on earth of the chief god, he was of necessity a male. Thus if the chief wife had no son, there was a difficulty. This difficulty rose four times running at this period and was solved by marrying the eldest child of the chief wife, a girl, to her half-brother by a lesser wife. As we shall hear, Hatshepsut attempted to go one better on this solution.

The 3rd king of the 18th Dynasty, Thutmose I, was the grandson of the founder, and was the son of a lesser wife. To reinforce his claim to the throne he had been married to his half-sister Aahmose, the eldest child of the Great Royal Wife. If

Aahmose had been a male she would have been the rightful heir. The expectation was that the child of this marriage would be wholly legitimate, i.e. a male. At the death of Thutmose I in 1514 B. C., the only surviving child of this marriage was a girl, Hatshepsut. She was married as chief wife to Thutmose II, her half-brother and cousin by a younger sister of Aahmose's. Thutmose II was a physical and mental weakling who died in 1501 B. C. at about the age of thirty. Hatshepsut, who was about the same age, had in the meantime been busying herself with household duties and the bearing of children, of whom there were two, both girls.

So again, at the death of Thutmose II, the same problem arose and was solved in the same way. Thutmose II had a son Thutmose III by a concubine and this boy was married, not to Hatshepsut as was formerly thought, but to Neferura, the elder daughter of Hatshepsut, who thus became aunt, step-mother, and mother-in-law of the king. Since the children were both minors, Hatshepsut was made regent, and thus except in name became the actual ruler of the whole of Egypt. With the Regency of Queen Hatshepsut began perhaps the greatest period of expansion in the arts and crafts in Egyptian history. This period of expansion has been interpreted as indicative of the presence of a very dominant and aggressive character at the head of things. Who was this individual? Queen Hatshepsut in person or only as a name in whose behalf some man in the background acted? We do not really know. But we do know that there was in the background a very powerful and able man, Senmut, the Chief Steward of Amun, who had been appointed by the queen Chief Guardian of the child Neferura. And we may guess, if we like, that it was not the Queen but this man who acted in her name.\*

Senmut, of known plebeian origin, we know to have been

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\*Covered over by this historical uncertainty is hidden a matter of unconscious motivation as we shall see below. Was Senmut the embodiment of Queen Hatshepsut's wish for a penis? And was she like many women of today able to gratify an unconscious wish to possess such an organ in the possession of a male body-servant over whom she could domineer? Or shall the stress be put on the other aspect of this dual situation: that the queen was being used in a self-creative manner by a man. That, as I shall show, is probably the emphasis the Ancient Egyptians would have put on it. Neither interpretation excludes the other. They are complementary.



an ambitious man. He used his position of guardian of Neferura as the first step in a climb to power and wealth for himself. His obituary, written by himself as was customary, is of interest:

"I was the greatest of the great in the whole land. I was the guardian of the secrets of the King in all his places; a privy councillor on the Sovereign's right hand, secure in favor and given audience alone; a lover of truth who showed no partiality; one to whom judges listened and whose very silence was eloquent. I was one upon whose utterances his Lord relied, with whose advice the Mistress of the Two Lands was satisfied, and the heart of the Divine Consort was completely filled. I was a noble to whom one harkened, for I repeated the words of the King to the companions. I was one whose steps were known in the palace, a real confident of the Ruler, entering in love and coming forth in favor, making glad the heart of the Sovereign every day. I was the one useful to the King, faithful to the God, and without blemish before the people. I was one to whom was given the inundation that I might control the Nile; one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were confided. That which the South and the North contributed was under my seal and the labor of all countries was under my charge. And moreover I had access to all the writings of the prophets—there was nothing from the beginning of time which I did not know."\*

We have good reason to believe that this obituary was not all idle boasting. Senmut was in fact the greatest architect and administrator Egypt ever had. And as a high priest he had, as he claims, access to the written literature, except such as was buried in tightly closed tombs and pyramids.

The child Neferura died after a few years, exactly when is not known. She left her husband, Thutmose III, still a minor, alone as the legitimate king. At this time, or even earlier, Hatshepsut and Senmut had conspired together, under whose instigation we do not know, to declare the queen King in name as well as in fact. To do this she had to become a male, at least in appearance, and to take over all the masculine prerogatives and trappings. To accomplish this purpose Senmut began the erection of the great temple to Amun at Deir el Bahri circa 1492, B. C. and on the

\*Winlock, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

walls of this he pictured the genesis, birth and life history of Hatshepsut as a man, son of the god. This official biography constructed for politico-religious purposes was placed in the part of the temple open to the general public.

This whole state of affairs came to an end with the death of Hatshepsut in 1479 B. C. and the attempt was made as stated above to erase Hatshepsut and Senmut from the pages of history. As persons and names they did disappear for 3400 years. Certain of the things they had started did not and have not yet disappeared. The prime movers in this episode, Senmut and Hatshepsut, just disappeared with their death. It is one of the ironies of fate that although neither of them received to the full the kind of immortality that was pictured by the Egyptians, they did receive one special form prized by them: their Name was eventually resurrected and continued to live among men. And that was just the aspect of their personality that Thutmose III tried to destroy for all time.

The fact that Queen Hatshepsut had herself represented as a man, that she dressed as a man, and was pictured in her biography as a nude boy with a penis, has apparently impressed all of the archeologists and others as a curious circumstance. One can surmise a tacit question in their minds: did this woman have a strong penis envy? We will not attempt to review the indirect efforts made to consider this question nor the many phantasies to which it has given rise. We will, however, quote a remark by Breasted which indirectly but clearly seems to be a reply to and a dismissal of this possibility. According to him\* the explanation of the discrepancy between the visual representation of the Queen as a man and inscriptions which speak of her in the feminine, using feminine pronouns and grammatical endings, is simple. Both the pictures and the inscriptions follow along quite conventional and traditional lines. There was no innovation in details. This judgment is supported by the fact that although in many ways, in its architecture, etc., this temple introduced apparent innovations they were for the most part adaptations of existing ways to new usages. Mariette's† opinion that it was

\*Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. VI, p. 76.

†Quoted from Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, Introductory Memoir, London, 1894.



an exception and an accident in the architectural life of Egypt, did not apply so much to the details as to the whole structure. If one wanted to compare such a structure to a dream one could say that what was new was in the secondary elaboration not in the manifest and latent content.

Knowing as we do practically nothing about Queen Hatshepsut as a person, we can say nothing about her psychology. To be sure, one can make inferences from the monumental remains, and this the archeologists and historians have done. Such inferences have been practically all in terms of the claims made on the monuments themselves that Queen Hatshepsut was a great woman. But as I have tried plainly to indicate above, such inferences are not necessarily correct when they attempt to specify who the great person was and to make a choice between the Queen and the administrator Senmut.

We may assume as we like regarding the psychological make-up of the persons involved in this ancient episode. There is very little we can say for certain. We just assume them to have been activated by the same motivations as would individuals exhibiting the same sort of behavior today. We know nothing about the individual psychology of the queen. We do not know, for instance, that she had a strong penis envy, or that she had murder impulses which she carried out, or even that she was a domineering woman. All of these phantasies have been held by archeologists. On the contrary she could have been a very compliant woman (a phantasy no one seems to have put forward) who was acting as the front or stooge for a very strong masculine figure who may even have been her lover for all we know. We do know that Senmut was the person of real power who did things. The queen may have been merely a puppet whose strings were pulled by him. If we accept and take seriously such loose statements as the one that is sometimes put forward: that Akhenaton was the first individual in history, then we have no individuals here anyway and could not expect to find any individual psychology.

While we are not able to speak of the individual deep psychology of the human actors concerned in this first political biography we can say something of the meaning of the act of publi-

cation. That would seem obvious and unquestionable. A departure was being made in the political structure of the Egyptian hierarchical state. A woman was taking over the role assigned very strictly to a male. This departure had to be justified. To whom, how, and why? To the Queen, to her courtiers, to the common people? We cannot answer these questions in this form. And perhaps it makes no difference in any case, for we have here from the anthropological standpoint simply another manifestation of a very commonplace experience, but one which to my knowledge has never been fully considered from its psychological or psychoanalytic bearings.

Every field worker in anthropology who goes out to live for a few months in a given primitive community likes to mention to his lay friends that he or she has been made blood brother or sister to this or that important individual in that community. To the layman fed on romance this sounds very wonderful. But once in a while the field worker will go on to give the matter-of-fact explanation and the romantic and mysterious disappears from the event. Such "primitives" have the habit of picturing the structure of their world in terms of the family; the coordinate system or ordering scheme by which they sort out and arrange the details of their world and daily life is the family structure. A stranger in the community is an isolated particle whom they do not know what to do with, nor where to fit him, nor where he should sit, nor who has precedence, etc. In short they do not know how to behave with him and in his presence unless they can give him some blood-relationship (however fictitious) to some member of the group. This having been done everything becomes simple and comprehensible.

In the analytic situation we see the same thing go on in all its infinite detail in the transference situation between analyst and analysand. Here one is assigned in turn the roles of this, that, and the other person important in the analysand's family and associations in the past. But more than this, the analyst (and analysand) stands at various times for each element in the tripartite structure of the human personality. Here also the main purpose is to learn how to behave with a stranger and perhaps more important, how not to behave. And it is old analytic doc-

trine that unless the stranger, the analyst, can be fitted by the analysand into the patterns of his tacit conceptual picture of the world, there can be no analysis. Now such a conceptual picture bears some, up to the present inadequately stated, relation to the super-ego of the individual. Perhaps our Egyptian material will throw some light on this relationship.

Before we depart completely from our survey of the behavior of the individual creators of our scene and its material history, let us finally dispose of it. Really it matters not, from one standpoint, who contrived the picture nor whether the hidden motive force behind the selecting of special items to stress, was penis-envy, or a desire or self-preservation, or whatever other impulse, repressed or otherwise, we might choose to assume or to find. Actually the psychological problem that was presented the creator of this picture or the phantasy that it embodied was this: an aberrant impulse, the impulse to make a woman king, had to be made acceptable to the social structure in such a way that the social structure would not be upset as a whole.

One can state the situation in this way: the contrivers of this picture had the purpose of constructing a sort of "influencing machine" to select from among the mass of the Egyptian populace, from the group composing the social structure of Egypt, a suitable exponent of certain religious ideas; or what comes to the same thing, the initial selection having been brought about by other means, that selection had to be justified so that the integrity and continuity of the politico-religious hierarchical structure should not be disturbed. As we shall see below, when we come to consider Osiris and his role, this "influencing machine" contains in itself a representation of this very function of selecting and preserving for the future so that the machine works (one might say) by picturing in itself, as a machine in the social structure, the function and meaning it has in the lives of the adherents of that social structure. Its function is to assure continuity of purpose and the pattern and structure of living in the state, exactly as does the Super-ego in the individual, by appropriate selections from among the mass of fluctuating and variable, apparently aimless, impulses presented to it.

The individual creator of this primal scene or phantasy

created it for the purpose of socializing an act which would have tended to destroy the social structure of the group by which or in which he lived. It is clear to be seen that if this social structure had been destroyed, the particular impulse would have been wrecked along with it and also the ego of the creator. For instance, if the creator had been Senmut and he had destroyed the social structure at that time existing in Egypt, he would have lost his place in the scheme of things. His place was that of high priest in the hierarchical system. Now his future chances of immortality, according to the system of thought then prevailing, depended on his keeping going as the high priest who would eventually die and be buried according to the elaborate funeral system. As a commoner he would have no rights to such a burial. This funeral system was designed to make the deceased immortal by the continued sacrifices of the epigones who, of course, had to be coerced into it in some fashion. In fact Senmut did lose his immortality of this sort even though he did not wreck the social structure. We do not know what happened to his corpse but it did not receive the elaborate funeral disposition he had planned for himself. Exactly the same considerations applied to Queen Hatshepsut, except that we do happen to have her mummy. What happened then was that the aberrant impulse was accepted and continued in play for some years while the social structure assimilated it and accommodated itself to it before it was finally rejected. The means by which this impulse had been put over on the social structure, the series of pictures which includes our primal scene, finally underwent a process of repression. It was partially obliterated but partly also taken over by the repressing forces which it had set into action and to which it also owed its preservation in a transformed version.

To come back to our Egyptian material and restate the problem confronting the Egyptians. It was how to place a woman in the scheme of things so that the structure of the whole hierarchical religious state with its elaborate rituals and ceremonials in which the chief officiant was necessarily a man, who as the son of the god stood as the human representative of the god, should not be destroyed by the following out of another formality having to do with the rules for royal succession. A woman had become

king by right of an arbitrary assumption of power according to but going beyond an age old formula, so for the sake of every body, to enable them to carry on their daily rituals and life, she must be made over into the image of a man by the construction of a fiction. This fiction put the responsibility for her act on to the gods who were said to have especially formed her for this destiny. And the fiction was constructed in conformity with and as an elaboration of the more primitive world scheme of family relationships. Just as in earlier days in some parts of the world the individual was the descendant of this or that totem ancestor, so now the queen was the direct descendant of the chief god.

To construct this fiction, somebody, possibly Sēnmut who had access to and knew all the writings of the prophets, Sēnmut who knew everything from the beginning of time, made use of a phantasy which is well known to us today in many of our patients. So well known is this phantasy that we assume it to be universal and to have been always so. This is the familiar phantasy that our putative father is not our real one. Our real father is pictured by this phantasy as a person of much greater importance and power than our putative father. And of course our phantasied "real" father incarnates our earliest feelings of omnipotence which the inevitable disillusionment with our somatic father has necessitated we reembody in some phantasied repository. It is one of the motifs which goes to constitute the Oedipus complex of phantasies.

Sēnmut could have made use of a story already a 1000 years old in his time, a story recorded and available to him. Of this we have spoken above. Whatever its antecedents may have been, we do know that the present version of the phantasy was continued from this time on (1492 B. C.), even though it was only once again applied to a human being in Egyptian history. It would take but little ingenuity to construct a plausible hypothesis that this particular instance of the phantasy set a fashion that reappeared in the legendary story of Alexander the Great\*

\*In 332 or 331 B. C. Alexander the Great, then a man about twenty-five years of age, visited the Oasis of Siwa and was acknowledged by the God, via his priesthood, to be his son. This god was Amun. Alexander here simply fell into the precedent which had held for all the kings of Egypt back to the 5th Dynasty. This is the historical fact. There is, however, a romance of the 2nd century A.D.

and again in that of Jesus of Nazareth. How much credence one would wish to give such a reconstruction would depend on one's own conceptual system and whether in terms of it such things could happen. Of course, Alexander might be conceived to have gotten the tale from the story of the parentage of Heracles, five centuries earlier. But where did Heracles get the story? Herodotus (ii, 43) had no doubt that the story came from Egypt since Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of Heracles, being descended from Perseus, "were both by descent Egyptian." According to Herodotus, Zeus was the Egyptian Amun.

There seems to be two main reasons for bothering with the possible historical derivatives and sources of this primitive phantasy. Both are concerned with assumptions we make without much concern as to their justification. Given the structure of the Egyptian state we can take for granted that the particular phantasy we have been concerned with would have arisen in the course of events. It would have been invented by somebody and applied in the way it was even if Hatshepsut and Senmut had never existed. So we could argue. But this argument seems to depend on an assumption: the constitution of the human mind is the same now as it always has been. Whatever we find in it today has always existed in it in some form however rudimentary. Particularly does psychoanalysis hold such a view as regards the contents

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recorded for us by pseudo-Callisthenes which is of more interest. According to this, the father of Alexander was not Phillip of Macedon by Nectanebos II, the last native king of Egypt. Some time after 359 B.C. Nectanebos was driven out of Egypt by the Persians. According to the story, he fled to Thrace where he set up as an astrologer and interpreter of dreams, making use of his Egyptian magical lore in which he was reputed to be a great expert. His fame became so great that Olympias, wife of Phillip, absent at the time, called on him to interpret a dream. He told her that the dream meant she would be visited in the night by the god Amun dressed as a dragon. As the result of this union, the hitherto childless woman would be delivered of a son who would become great. Nectanebos, hitherto innocent of women, decided himself to play the part of the god, visited the Queen in the night dressed as a dragon, and thus became the father of Alexander.

The rest of the story contains an interesting variant on the Oedipus myth. One day when Alexander was twelve, he was out strolling with Nectanebos, discussing with him what the stars predicted as to his, Alexander's, future. Among other things he was told he would kill his own father, whereupon the boy became angry, said he would disprove it and punish Nectanebos for presuming to know such things. He threw the old man into a pit and mortally hurt him. Before he died Nectanebos revealed to the now repentant Alexander that he, not Phillip, was the real father. So the prediction of the stars had come true after all. See Budge, *Ethiopic Version of Pseudo-Callisthenes*.



of the Unconscious. We freely grant that the surface appearances have changed and show a development. We might go so far as to say that the ego of modern man differs from the ego of primitive man. If we follow Freud, we do not regard man as having always had a super-ego such as he has today. Perhaps we would wish to restrict the scope of the assumption to the Id.

Whatever view we wish to take, one thing I think is clear. The ancient Egyptians who created our primal scene would never have made such an assumption of the common constitution of the mind. The Egyptians' belief in this respect is shown by their practice, several instances of which can be found in our primal scene. For example, at the time of our picture, seats, chairs, and souls were not considered common property to be possessed by any man. On the contrary they were the prerogatives of the very elect. Only by the process of democratization have they become the prerogatives of Anyman. And our assumption that man has always possessed the same psychic constitution could itself be simply another instance of the same process of vulgarization. Even today psychopathologists are accustomed to classify individuals according to the weakness and strength of their Super-egos, almost, one might say with a bit of exaggeration, according to the presence or absence of a Super-ego.

We could equally as well assume that this particular phantasy had been invented once and for all on a specific occasion and had thence become by inherited tradition diffused and common to us all. And certainly that would be our assumption if we did not go below the surface of historical appearance. The situation would be no different than it is today with the automobile. In those days inventors created religious ceremonials and the myths that went along with them. One man started something, other men came along and added a detail here and there. The whole was fit for survival in a society that *adjusted itself to the innovation* and so it did survive until it became in appearance universal and there from the beginning.

The other assumption is, perhaps, in essence the same. It is the assumption we make when we suppose that something which shows up late in a developmental series was already implicit in it from the very beginning. In practice, if we can show in a given

individual patient that a later version of such and such a phantasy has come to have such and such meanings, then we are apt to assume as obvious that such meanings were already implicit for that individual in the very beginnings. It is only recently, for instance, that Hendrick\* has raised the question of whether this principle is so obvious, whether on the contrary such an assumption does not commit a fallacy of anachronistic displacement. We will leave the question open even though we propose to make use of this very assumption in what follows.

We are going to consider our primal scene as if it were a dream, not in the life of an individual but in that of a culture. We propose to take the details of the manifest content of this picture and produce strings of association to them, such as a patient might produce for us. Here they will be produced by the writer, to be sure, but by a process of selection from among the findings of the archeologists and Egyptologists. In making this selection the writer has been guided by a methodological principle which seems to him to correspond to the principle of free association in the analytic situation. This principle is the assumption that *if a symbolic equation is possible in a given culture it will have been made and can be found somewhere at some time to have been made by somebody and recorded in an explicit form in the media provided by that culture.*\*\* The use of such a principle involves considerable search in the great mass of literature produced by the Egyptologists, in particular the periodical literature, and hence access to a large library is necessary. Such a search must be more or less random since the writer is aware of no single source which brings together the odds and ends known and discoverable about

\*Ives Hendrick, *Instinct and Ego during Infancy*, *Psa. Quart.* XI, 1942, No. 1. See also Cadbury, *The Danger of Modernizing Jesus*, for a similar view applied to the modern theological interpretations of the meaning of Jesus.

\*\*This is exactly the principle used by the Egyptologists. See for instance Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du Dieu Min*, Cairo, 1931, p. 140 and footnote 3. Gauthier is there discussing the word "beauty" as it occurs in connection with the gods and especially Min and Amun. He declares it to have reference to the phallus in the state of erection. That is the god's beauty. Once at least the word "beauty" has as its determinative the phallus. The word "beauty" *nfr.w* is written with a hieroglyph which is variously interpreted as a musical instrument or as the heart suspended by an artery (Sottas & Drioton, *Introduction à l'étude des Hieroglyphes*, Paris, 1922, p. 122). A determinative is a picture of the class of objects to which the word applies suffixed to the word. It has no sound value but is to guide the reader in selecting the meaning of the word.



the sexual life and thought of the Egyptians. Also it may be added that sexology is apparently a field of little interest to archaeologists. It is to be gathered that they tend prudently to avoid a field exploited and spoiled by the cranks and lunatic fringe who constituted the greater part of the group known in the 19th century as "students of phallic worship." It has also of course not been possible to display freely in our museums and the periodicals open to the general public some of the remains found by excavators.

No more than with a dream analysis can our analysis here hope to be complete and exhaustive, following every line of thought to its ultimate conclusion. There will be many gaps as determined by dearth of material for whatever reason and it all fades out at the edges in a way provoking to those who want things definite and clear cut. But we can hope to bring into sharp relief some of the characteristic psychological mechanisms embodied by the Egyptians in their archeological remains.

Just as with the dream of an individual we might expect to deduce something of the biography of the individual, so here we shall expect to learn about the growth and development of a god or of a religious ideology as depicted in what man has said the gods had said and done.

Perhaps the feature that first strikes the eye in our primal scene is that in its visual elements we have the results of a process of "spiritualization." We can then study in this connection in some detail what exactly this word means both as to denotation and connotation. The visual impression which we shall attempt to follow out in some detail is supported by reference to the text accompanying the picture. We shall see that in the text "spiritualization" would clearly seem to consist in giving up the substance for the smell of it. One will recall how Aahmose awoke because of the savour of the god which flooded the whole palace. We will have more to say about smells and perfumes below.

If we had approached our picture first by way of the text and the comments on it by Grapow, we would, I think, have expected to find an unmistakable sexual scene. No unsophisticated person today would suppose we have here a picture of human coitus.

The discrepancy will be the more obvious to the only slightly sophisticated amateur Egyptologist who will tend to have the notion that the ancient Egyptians were a rather shameless people given to frequent use of pictures and other representations of the erect phallus as a common hieroglyph and in their sculptures of masturbating gods. But, in fact, this is the limit of their shamelessness. They do not seem to have been given to depicting or writing pornography. There is known to be still in existence on a temple column a single instance of unmistakable human coitus depicted in a hieroglyph,\* and one late manuscript, the so-called uscript dates to the 19th or 20th Dynasty. And the use of the phallus as an amulet against the evil eye is a late practice brought in by the phallic age which came with the Greeks.

The text to our scene tells us that the picture represents a scene of the god fecundating the woman. The function of semen in this connection was known to the Egyptians from the beginning of recorded history as is attested by the Pyramid Texts. In general, the idea, which we will illustrate below, seems to have been that the human seed planted by the male grew in the seed bed constituted by the female. Nothing was known or guessed about the human ovum. The Pyramid Texts which were sometimes very clear in their implications were in the interiors of the pyramids and tombs and were thus not exposed to later eyes. They were not written for human contemporaries but for the gods and later comers in the dead man's entourage. And out of this practice and belief arose a curious bit of behavior about which we will comment later. The point here is that we do not know what was known by the people as a whole but there is no reason to suppose that the texts contained anything that was not common knowledge.

In the picture the passage of semen from man to woman is replaced by the passage of the *ankh* from the hand of the god to the nostrils of the woman. The hand thus replaces the phallus and the nostrils the vagina. And elsewhere when the *ankh* passes Obscene Papyrus of Turin, which is pornographic.\*\* This man-

\*Beni Hassen. v. Lepsius, Denkm. ii, 143 b.

\*\*Pleyte & Rossi. Pap. d. Turin, gives a partial publication. Cf. also the Contendings of Horus and Set. *op. cit.* below.

from hand to hand, the hand of the woman replaces the vagina. The *ankh* which thus twice replaces semen is the so-called Crux ansata and consists of a loop (by which it is always carried in the hands of the gods) joined to a Tau cross. It signified "life." And was carried by the dead and the gods and presented to the living. The living never carried it and did not present it to the dead; they presented the Eye of Horus to the dead. This we will take up later. What object the *ankh* originally represented is not exactly known; it has been thought to be a mirror, a belt, a sandal strap, and other things. It was surely some sort of protective amulet and if one follows back its pictorial transformations, a good case can be made for its having been a sandal string.\* In any case it did not represent to the people of those days what it came to mean to the phallicists of the 19th century A. D., the juxtaposition of the vulva and phallus. And to so interpret it is to commit an anachronistic falsification. In later days it was sometimes personified like many other emblems. If even unconsciously it had had a sexual meaning, one would expect to find somewhere in some connection that some person of less repressions would have depicted the *ankh* in a way indicative of such connotations. It could represent water and was sometimes pictured as the constituent of a stream that flows like water from a libation jar which is poured over the dead,\*\* or over the Pharaoh to purify him before officiating in the temple.

The obvious suggestion given by the picture is that the *ankh* connoted something respiratory, a smell or something of the sort. The text speaks of the sweet savour of the god. Incense played a great part in Egyptian religious ceremonials. It was conceived by them to be a way of restoring to the dead and dessicated body its proper odor. Since incense and fumigation is apparently always closely associated in rituals with water and libations† which restored to the corpse its moisture and hence connoted vitality, the surmise seems justified that there was always present in the minds of the Egyptians a symbolic equation making easy the jump from smell to life.

\*See especially Jequier's account in Bulletin de l'Inst. Franc. d'arch. Orient., XI. 1914.

\*\*See for instance Pl. CXCI in De Morgan, Kom Ombos, I. And Naville, Temple of Deir el Bahri, III, Pl. LVI. For a discussion see Blackman, *op. cit.*

†Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, p. 76.

Today one can guess an unconscious association equating the *ankh* and semen. Would such an equation have been possible to the Egyptians, or being possible could it have been expressed? There is at least one type of pictorial representation where it would have been possible so to do. In later days there were occasions when the recumbent ithyphallic corpse of Osiris was pictured with a stream of something spouting from the phallus like a fountain of water. I am unable to find that this stream was ever pictured as a stream of *ankhs*. Perhaps it would be too much to expect to find that such a picture had been drawn by some Egyptian of this period, even a flippant-minded temple workman idly drawing sketches on a potsherd during the noon hour. Sketches of this origin thrown into dumps to be preserved to our day do turn up by the thousands and sometimes are reported on by the Egyptologists. But I have found no record of any dealing with this particular topic even from the later and more bawdily minded Graeco-Roman days, when if ever one would have expected such ideas to come to the surface. Of course this negative finding is not conclusive, since it is not exhaustive. There are buried from sight in the cellars of our museums many things considered even yet too obscene to be of scientific interest. We may conclude, however, that if such a train of thought had been at all common even though suppressed, we would have found some evidence of it, in accordance with our methodological principle.

It happens that this methodological principle can be exemplified in its application to another item in our primal scene. The god passes the *ankh* and a staff into the hand of Aahmose. Dare one to suppose that there is here a cryptic sexual connotation? At the time of our picture the goddess Hathor sometimes bore the name "God's Hand," a name which was apparently first given to a human being in the person of one of Hatshepsut's successors, Meryet-Amun, a daughter of Thutmose III.\* This name has a curious history worked out and published in 1912 by Chassinat.\*\* A pyramid text, #12487, to be found in the Pyramid of Pepi, refers to an old myth according to which the original first being

\*Winlock, Bull. of the Metro. Museum of N. Y., 24, 1929, pt. ii, p. 32.

\*\*Chassinat, La Deesse Djeritef, Bull. d'Inst. Franc. d'Arch. Orient., X, 1912. See also Erman, Beitrage zur Aegypt. Rel., Sitz. d. Akad., Berlin, X, 1916.

produced the rest of creation by an act of self-creation. Which is to say: "he married his fist" and to be sure that this could not be misunderstood, the scribe pictured in the determinative of the word the nature of the act referred to. This particular occurrence of the determinative is apparently unique, but the representation of masturbation as an act of self-creation is a very common pictorial and sculptural subject throughout Egyptian history. In later or other versions of the myth the act was softened into other forms, e.g. spitting, urination, shedding of tears, etc., and with each such softer version it is possible to trace out the customary processes of reification and personification.\* We will stick to our one example. The word "God's Fist" ends in the feminine "t." For this reason or for others, it matters not, the word was taken by later comers (who incidently did not have access to the particular text mentioned above since this text was buried from sight in the interior of a pyramid) to be the name of a woman and in the course of time the name became personified according to the common practice into a special deity. This deity finally coalesced with Hathor. The name "God's Fist" or "God's Hand" thus became one of the attributes of Hathor and was finally given like her other names to the woman, the Queen, who was Hathor's representative on earth. Thus the Queen as "Mother of God" became "God's Wife" and eventually "God's Hand." This successive acquisition of names is a historic fact that can be traced out on the monuments. What it may have meant to the Egyptians is not so clear today. Presumably the knowledge of the tradition was confined to a very small group of literates. We do know it

\*Ein Altaegyptischer Weltschoepfungsmythus, A. Wiedemann, *der Urquell*, Bd. viii, 1898; Un des procédés du Dèmiurge Égyptien, par E. Lefébure, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1887, give an extended discussion of various forms of the creative auto-erotic act, and especially of the line of euphemistic derivatives and attempts by Egyptians to interpret the earliest version of the statement of the act, one involving the mouth in "creative speaking," spitting, reception of semen, etc. The Funerary Papyrus of the Shield Bearer Aomon-M-Sap (Papyrus Brit. Mus. 10018) described by A. Piankoff in *Egypt. Rel.* iii, p. 139 f (See also, Note sur un Papyrus Égyptien du Musée Brit. par Lucien de Rosny, *Rev. Oriental*, xi) clearly gives a picture of the act as one of auto-fellatio. The assumption is easy that this act has replaced a repressed oral relationship to mother and we have here a return of the repressed. The so-called euphemisms show the same but in a more hidden way. Cf. Bergler's "autarchic fiction," *Transference and Love*, by Dr. L. Jekels and Edmund Bergler, *IMAGO*, 1934, pp. 5-31.

need not have been so confined since statues and pictures of a masturbating god continued, or could have done so, to carry the myth or the notion of self-creation of man by way of some frank or disguised act of auto-erotism. This notion seems to pervade the whole of Egyptian thought and we will see other evidence for it.

In the example just cited, we have perhaps the clearest one to have been worked out which shows a characteristic course of development of Egyptian ideas. It can, I believe, be taken as paradigmatic. We will restate it: pictorial remains of old traditions show us that an act conceived in the beginning to have been auto-erotic and self-creative became split up between two people, one of whom was a personification of a split-off part of the original being. We see thus exemplified as a social custom, or as a development of theological speculation, a feature discovered by Freud to be a habitual feature of dream-work. According to this rule, all of the figures in a dream may occasionally represent a split off and personified fragment of the dreamer's personality.

Another aspect of the process of spiritualization is given us in the figure of the chief actor in our scene, the father god Amun Re. He was the old god associated with the locality of Thebes and with the rise to power of the Thutmosides, the local leading family, an event which followed the expulsion of the Shepard Kings, Amun-Re became the chief god in the hierarchy and King of the Gods. It was characteristic of Egypt that the importance of a god depended on the political importance of his followers and if he succeeded some predecessor, he took over features of that predecessor. Thus much of the history of a god can be read in the successive elaboration of his image, in the gradual acquisition of features of dress, and especially in his names. Conversely, from these facts one can also infer something of the history of Egypt. But here in the archeological field is a phenomenon exactly comparable to something we know in psychoanalysis: the original form and meaning of the material is more and more hidden behind the later appearances with which it becomes merged, and even though the original meaning may be preserved, it has become so shifted in its apparent application as to be no longer recognizable as the original meaning.



No better illustration of this principle could be asked for than in the case of Amun. The name Amun seems to have meant "hidden one," "invisible one." Even in the Pyramid Texts he bore the name "the god who hides his name,"\* and this notion seems to have become increasingly important to the Egyptians, if we may judge from its increasing use in religious texts. In the course of ages, as Sethe shows, the ideas connected with the name Amun underwent a semantic transformation. What was originally, according to him, some idea about "wind" became eventually the idea of "breath of life" and finally "soul." The concept came to correspond to the one we associate with the Greek word "pneuma." Thus, according to Sethe, Amun was a cosmic god from the very first and not what he calls a fetish god, i.e. a personified object. Amun was the creative wind or breath. This conclusion is disputed as we shall see. He sees this course of development as prototypical for the Hebrew Yahwe who also in person or as a split-off attribute became in the course of time a "Holy Ghost" pictured in the form of a bird.

What is perhaps for psychoanalysts the most interesting feature of this semantic development does not loom very large in Egyptian perspective, even for Egyptologists. They may mention it in passing, but I have been unable to find an extended treatment of the topic. Amun-Re was once at least pictured as an *ithyphallic* soul (*ba*) bird flying over the corpse of Osiris.\* The text reads: "Amun-Re, the glorious soul of Osiris." This dates to the time of Ptolemy IX, Euergetes II (146-117 B. C.). There is another representation of Amun-Re as an *ithyphallic* soul bird dating from the time of Nectanebos II the last native Pharaoh and to be found at Saft el Henneh on the Delta.\*\* Thus Amun-Re from having been the King of the Gods finally becomes the soul of a dead man, of whom we shall hear more, but still bears on his body

\*Unless otherwise specified my data here is taken from Sethe, Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, Berlin, 1929. Sethe, who edited the Pyramid Texts, devoted much time to investigating the origin and history of this god from the linguistic evidence. Some of his conclusions have not been accepted by others who approached from considerations of a different sort. A summary of Sethe's conclusions can be found in Budge. From Fetish to God, Oxford, 1934, pp. 163-165.

\*See Lepsius, Denkm. iv, 29b, Temple U room E, Karnak. For a mention see Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

\*\*Brugsch, Thesaurus IV, 784.

evidence of his sexual meaning if not origin. This idea of soulship in a genital connection is already adumbrated in our primal scene.

As Sethe remarks,\* the essential nature of this god was hidden behind and lost sight of due to his coalescence with Min and the sun god Re of Heliopolis, an event which happened during or just prior to the 12th Dynasty. This dynasty marks the beginning of a new period in Egyptian history called the Middle Kingdom, just as the 18th Dynasty marks the beginning of the New Kingdom. During the 11th Dynasty Amun first appears in an anthropomorphic form in connection with the introduction of a new breed of sheep, the preceding form having become extinct. Thenceforth he is often pictured as having the head of a ram. Somewheres in the course of time, he picked up a title which appears on the Obelisk erected by Queen Hatshepsut. This is the name Ka-Mut-f, "Bull (i.e. husband) of his mother." Whether this name was that of a distinct god or was simply a name borrowed from another god with whom Amun was from the beginning identical or nearly akin, the god Min of Coptos, seems not to be definitely known.

Amun's kinship to Min is clearly a matter of dispute among Egyptologists. The oldest known appearance of Amun in the ithyphallic form of Min dates to the 12th Dynasty. Nevertheless the feeling seems to be that the two were considered very similar or identical from a much earlier period. From the prehistoric period, statues of Min, the fertility god, show him in his characteristic form as a man standing erect with his feet close together as if he were a mummy, right arm held in the air holding a whip or flail, and sometimes masturbating with his left hand, more usually just with an erect phallus. Because of the ithyphallic feature he was taken by the Greeks to be the original of their god Pan. Min is accompanied from deep into prehistoric times by a curious emblem for which nobody has yet offered an adequate explanation. It suggests a thunderbolt and is so taken by Wainwright,\*\* who on the basis of a recently discovered aniconic form of Amun believes the latter also to have been a thunderbolt or

\**Op. cit.*, p. 178.

\*\*Wainwright, Some Aspects of Amun. *Jour. Egypt. Arch.*, XX.



meteoritic god. According to Wainwright, Amun and Min thus fall into the series of thunder gods, Set, Zeus, Yahwe, etc.

Whatever the origins of Amun may have been, by the time of our primal scene he was clearly identified with Min and is so pictured in characteristic scenes in other scenes from Queen Hatshepsut's biography and elsewhere in the temple. If no other feature of Amun carried the idea, the name Ka-Mut-f, "Bull of his mother," certainly would bring into the foreground the idea of self-generation, self-creation. On a few occasions this name took the form "he who generated his father."\* Whether Amun consciously meant this to Queen Hatshepsut or not we do not know. We do know that such a name for the god fits the use she made of him. She had indulged in fact in an act of self-creation, or somebody had in her name, and she pictured this in terms of a god who carried the meaning of self-creation, and did so throughout the whole of Egyptian history, even though eventually the idea was pushed into the background.

It happens that another item in our primal scene leads to a train of thought which gives us a variant on this idea of self-creation, and at the same time bears also on the question of penis-envy among the goddesses. Also it serves to bring into discussion some features of the important Osiris myth. This myth was the foundation upon which was built much of Egyptian culture and ideology. It plays in a cultural sphere much the same role that the Oedipus complex or the "primal horde" myth has played in psychoanalysis. While Osiris does not appear directly in our primal scene, he does appear as one of the gods in the assemblage in the next preceding picture in the biography. In the primal scene itself, his sister and wife Isis under the form of Selkis appears to us.

Isis was the mother of Horus, the posthumous son of Osiris. One of the roles carried by the Pharaoh was that of representing in the rituals this son Horus. We can condense the several myths about Osiris thus:

Osiris was originally a man who came to Egypt out of the East, a culture hero who brought with him the cultivation of a new form of wheat (Min had been associated with an old form

\*Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

of wheat), the use of which led to the discontinuance of cannibalism. His wife was his sister Isis who had a brother Set behind whom Wainwright\* wishes to see an ancient thunder and fertility god.

Osiris was invited by Set to a feast, and having been inveigled into a chest, was set upon by Set and his companions and killed. The body was dismembered into fourteen pieces which were distributed over Egypt. Isis collected the fragments, except for the phallus, which, having fallen into the Nile, had been eaten by a fish. With the collected fragments she reconstituted the body of Osiris. The missing phallus she replaced with one of wood which she fanned into an erection with her wings (for Isis was a hawk) and on this she impregnated herself to give birth to Horus. Horus, becoming a man, avenged his father by fighting with Set. An eye† Horus lost and testicles lost by Set in the fight Horus gave to his father, who thus became alive in the hereafter, which is to say, he acquired a soul and became immortal through his son. Osiris then became the judge of the dead and on the day of judgment weighed the sins of the dead man in the balance against his heart. If the human seeker of immortality was judged lacking, he was given to the crocodiles of the hereafter to be eaten. In the course of time the figure of Osiris came to dominate the

\**Op. cit.* For a discussion of how Set became the personification of evil and hostile aggression, see Faulkner, *The God Setekh in the Pyramid Texts*, Ancient Egypt, 1925, March. Set seems clearly to have been one of the ancestral forms of the Christian Devil.

†The symbol of the Horus Eye which in the beginning also meant sun, runs throughout the whole of Egyptian religion. There are many references to it in the Pyramid Texts. See Allen, *Horus in the Pyramid Texts*, Univ. of Chicago, 1916. It came to represent the many offerings given to the dead to give them life in the hereafter. It is equated with many things including the soulhood and sovereignty of the king. It is nowhere directly equated with testicles, but the collocation of Eye of Horus and Testicles of Set occurs a number of times. The Contendings of Set and Horus (v. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyrus No. I*, Oxford, 1931) seems to have been a favorite tale of the market place. According to Faulkner *op. cit.*, this tale antedates the use made of it in the Osiris myth. According to one especially favored type of interpretation now given, the tale represented originally a story of political contentions between two countries, embodied in two men. After the unification of Egypt and the rise of the Osiris myth, the older Horus, who was the eye of the sun, became confused with the younger Horus, the son of Osiris, and the older version of the tale was worked over into the present form. The Osiris myth is obviously a version of the "primal horde" myth and the history of this particular version of the myth presents an opportunity to interpret it as an instance of return from repression.

whole pantheon. And it was the aim of every man to become an Osiris upon his death.

We are now in position to come back to our primal scene and the question of penis-envy. There is extant in the Louvre in Paris a 26th Dynasty Papyrus\* giving a song sung by Isis to Osiris which runs as follows:

"I am your sister Isis, there is not a god who has done what I have done, nor a goddess, I have played the husband although a woman, in order to let your name continue to live on earth, your divine semen was in my body, I gave it back—brought it into the world, that he might avenge your form, etc."

The important idea in this for our purpose is clearly: "I have done what no other god or goddess has done (I have engendered) although a woman." This is surely to our ears a shout of triumph by a penis-envious woman. But was it to the ancient Egyptian? Was it not rather self-generation? Although this version of the song is a late one, the idea in it is probably very ancient. Furthermore the fact that the concept of the evil eye (the castrating eye of envy) is apparently a very late idea to come into Egyptian thought† and that it apparently came from the East by way of the Greeks has its counterpart in the apparent lack of this concept of penis-envy as projected on to the gods.

The idea closely associated in our minds with the idea of penis-envy is that of the phallic mother. Whatever the Egyptians may have thought or felt about this, they had ample opportunity

\*P. Pierret, *Etudes égyptol.*, t. 1, p. 22.

\*\*Dr. Sachs has pointed out to me that Queen Hatshepsut accomplished the productivity in reality by means of Senmut that Isis in the song achieves by means of a wooden phallus. We have here then two representations or embodiments of the depreciated penis achieved by some types of contemporary penis-envious women. But there is involved in this interpretation a theoretical difficulty. Were Isis and Queen Hatshepsut acting-out in derivative form a "repressed memory" or rather were they achieving in displaced form the gratification of a wish the aim of which was based on a "repressed memory" and an infantile phantasy? Or were they only acting in terms of another line of thought or wish something to which later interpreters could apply the questioned interpretation? The writer believes it has not been noticed that Freud gave up the concept of "memory" at such points and substituted the concept of repetition compulsion and economic factors. See for instance his revision of the Rankian birth-trauma conception which had seemed to reduce to an absurdity the earlier Freudian views based on the concept of "memory". *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety*, London 1936, p. 108.

†Cf. Spiegelberg, *Der Bese Blick im altaegyptischen Glauben*, Zeif. f. ägy. Sprach. 59, 149.

to see it pictured. And the opportunity came about in pursuance of expressing another idea. Like many peoples, the Egyptians were accustomed to break down a conceptual whole pictured in visual terms into component parts which were then taken to represent the whole or an important subsidiary idea embraced in the original configuration. In this way, for instance, a sign which to us looks like a flag on a pole and which was originally associated with the gods came to stand for the idea of divinity and godhood. By being attached to any other object this flag showed that object to have been deified or sanctified. In the same way, if it was essential to kill a sign, that is to prevent the picture or hieroglyph from becoming alive, a knife was drawn sticking into the sign. In the funeral texts the occasion arose to express some idea in terms of crocodiles, lions, or other dangerous beasts. When in the hereafter the dead man became alive, his texts could also do so. Hence it was essential to kill or mutilate and render harmless the animal pictured.\* Otherwise they would attack the dead man. Likewise it became a frequent custom to attach an erect phallus to various deities including female goddesses, in particular to Mut, the vulture mother-goddess. The surmise is justified that the detachable penis connoted the attribute of self-creation. There can be little doubt of this when it is considered the frequency with which the phallus was attached to the body of the Scarab beetle which in itself already stood for this idea, and the name of which Khepera came to stand for the concept by all sorts of paronomasias. One wonders only why it was necessary to reinforce the idea of self-generation. Isis in her boast was not claiming to have acquired a penis but to have used the body of a dead man to indulge in an act of self-creation, here self-fecundation. This was the conscious or preconscious idea, whatever may have been the deep unconscious (repressed?) one. And let me repeat that whatever the ideas connoted may have been, the visual impression open to the eyes of the onlookers in the temples and wherever else such things were pictured was one of a detachable penis which could be worn by any living organism, including women.

\*A fact first noticed by Griffith, *A Collection of Hieroglyphs*, p. 7. For a detailed study, see Lacau, *Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires*, *Zeit. f. ägypt. Sprach.* 51, 1913.

With this item from our picture I shall consider that we have enough material for our purpose. It would be possible of course to take every single feature in the primal scene, whether it be article of dress, attitude of the figures, etc., and trace out a genetic developmental history for it which would, we believe, show much the same tendencies we have seen already. We have seen only motifs long familiar to psychoanalysis, possibly somewhat rearranged from their more familiar configuration in the Oedipus complex, but not otherwise presenting anything novel.

### DISCUSSION

A retrospect of the items I have elected to stress from our primal scene shows, it is to be hoped in not too cursory a way, an obvious and characteristic psychogenetic sequence in the development of Egyptian religious thought. For the sake of a clear conception of what the writer believes to be a simple psychological pattern the outlines of which are generally lost in a maze of details, he has endeavored to reduce the story to the barest minimum of detail. In so doing, he has neglected many details of equal or greater psychoanalytic interest. Some of these latter motifs have already been hinted at, e.g. the suppression or pushing to one side of the oral relation to the mother. Our primal scene simply represents one stage in the whole series and was chosen as a convenient starting point to trace out certain ideas back into prehistory and forward into the present. The sequence of changes we have traced out could be summed up in the words: from the *delusion* of auto-erotic solipsism to the construction of the super-ego.

In more concrete terms our impression is this: the initial stage in the historical development of Egyptian religious thought pictured the beginnings by assuming a nebulous and vague self-creative first principle who by an act of auto-erotism peopled the chaos around him. The development finishes with the thought of obtaining immortality by the favor of a deified dead man who in turn owes his immortality and position in the hereafter to the activities and sacrifices of his living descendants.\* And in one

\*The customary view is that the living descendants devote such concern to the dead out of fear of the dead and also out of filial piety. A different view is given by Alan H. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death*

instance at least, the original first principle has at the end of the development become the "glorious soul" of the dead man, become so by the work of the living human creators, a fact which is represented indirectly in the ritual but there alleged to be the work of the Gods whereby "what I didst to Thee" is transformed into "what Thou doest to me." The living king, as Horus whose sacrifices kept alive the gods, became on his death Osiris, who passes judgment on what of the living shall have life everlasting. By the progress of democratization and the mechanism of identification, first of the man (in the person of the king) with the god, and of man in general with the king, what was at first a sharply limited prerogative became the common property of everyman. The ego-centric urge to self-generation or regeneration and self-perpetuation, which we today retrospectively think of as clearly present in everybody by the time of Christ, came about by way of projection and embodiment in a fiction (god) who came to represent the country in which one lived, and the king of that country and eventually oneself by way of identification.

As we have proceeded in our consideration of this ancient primal scene, I have selected facts from the archeological sources with respect to three purposes: 1, to show why man wants to assume a parallelism between cultural change and individual development; 2, to show that the private motivation of the creative individuals in the case could be neglected because there was something else going on which transcended the private conscious intentions of these individuals and which coerced their intentions into a larger pattern; 3, to introduce enough data so that if our first two purposes were achieved, we could show what that something else was, looking back at it from our metapsychological standpoint of today, bearing in mind always that to do so was perhaps to commit a retrospective falsification of the data. That is to say, we wished to introduce enough supplementary material so that we could show that the Egyptians in creating their total religious

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and the Dead, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1935, pp. 36-37. "But surely these beliefs, like the material funerary preparations which reflect them, were the outcome of the Egyptians' intense anxiety as to their own future fate: they were, in fact, results or symptoms, rather than causes. The fundamental error lies in not recognizing that the whole body of funerary doctrine and practice, in its developed form, arose from the Egyptians' preoccupation *with themselves* not from their disinterested solicitude, or love of, the other-dead."



ideology or culture quite unwittingly produced an intellectual structure which spreads out over a span of 5000 years a picture of the psychological development in the individual human which fills a span of perhaps six years.

If we assume that the ontogeny of John Doe's knowledge of the world about him begins with his discovery of masturbation at around 6-9 months and that this grows up around his loss or waning interest in the breast, and if we then credit him with the idea that everything he sees from then on is of his own creation (an assumption easy to make following Ferenczi's exposition of the four stages in the development of the sense of reality . . . or if we prefer, by following along the lines of Bergler's "autarchic fiction"\*) we can on the basis of our knowledge of the development of the pregenital and later stages in the modern individual, derive a picture of the successive stages in John Doe's ontogeny. This would correspond closely to the sketchy picture I have tried to give of Egyptian developments. Min or some similar god would correspond to the solipsistic six months old infant. Min is clearly formed by extrapolation along the lines of the phantasy projected on to the gods of man's own autarchic fiction. The primal scene would fall into the Oedipean phase,† and the ultimate dominance of Osiris would correspond to the development of the Super-ego in John Doe.

All this is rough and crude but perhaps gives enough of the notion involved to enable us to determine whether or not we wish to go any further with the possibilities entailed by our assumption of a projected and expanded reflection of human psychological ontogeny. Only then would we feel justified in spending the effort to paw over the mass of details collected for us by the archeologists. Perhaps we would only be letting ourselves in for a

\**Loc. cit. sup.*

†One additional historical fact which did not appear relevant hitherto now comes to mind. Queen Hatshepsut was, so far as records go, one of the first of our travelogue artists. She sent an expedition to the land of Punt (Somali-land) which is pictured in great detail in her biography. Much of our actual knowledge of the daily life of those times is derived from study of descriptive details in these pictures, how boats were managed and equipped, how trees were collected in foreign lands potted and transplanted in the god's gardens in the temple, how the peoples of those other lands looked and behaved etc. In short, coinciding with the Oedipean age begins the first travel abroad and acquaintance with people outside the family circle.

disappointment if we entertained the phantasy that maybe by spreading out a man's psychological ontogeny into a span of 5000 years we could learn something about the development of human individuals. To make use of an analogy from physics, we would then have something in psychology that would correspond to a spectrum of the sun.

We have been concerned with 'one of the parts which go to constitute a structure, a religious ideology. This part was the making of a god by man. Having done this, man turns the situation around and says that the god made the man. In one instance we have seen that in one sense (a political one) this reversed statement was a true proposition, a political activity had been justified by the expedient of shifting the application of the formula to a sexual situation so that it was alleged that the god had not made the maker in a political sense but in a sexual generative sense. But in this latter sense the proposition was not true. We have seen that this shift of application of the formula was conditioned by a need to picture all human activities in terms of the conceptual system which pictures social and world events in terms of the family. Now the ancient Egyptians were not conscious of carrying out any such purpose, of that we may be sure. Nor when they constructed a god by projecting and embodying in a personification a bit of their own deep psychology were they consciously engaged in constructing a theory of human psychology. That they did achieve such a purpose unwittingly it has been my purpose to indicate, not only in the details of their religious structure but in the general outlines of that whole structure itself and its purpose. They constructed a god who was to make a man. Today in psychoanalysis we construct a theory which we certainly expect to use as a guide and pattern in our effort to reconstruct men into a semblance of what they ought to be. They took as a first principle from which to construct a glorified man the act of masturbation with the meaning of self-generation for the sake of dispelling loneliness. Today to construct our theory we could start with the same act in an infant, an act which we interpret as having the meaning: "I am my own mother"\* in an effort

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\*It would seem the height of supererogation to point out that this statement is perhaps the first delusion formed by the human mind. Experience with

to replace the lost mother. It matters not whether this is a correct or wrong interpretation; it is the same interpretation in each case and it can be correlated with the state of affairs shown to exist at the time.

This is all very nice and neat, so much so that it will surely arouse suspicions and skepticism in the minds of some of our friends. It is just too good to be true. Well as to that I am not prepared to say. In self-justification I think I can say this: that this picture is not of my creation except in so far as I have tried to sharpen the lines of it. As to the ideas, judgments, and conclusions as to what the Egyptians were up to, and quite unconsciously, I think every single such idea is one I have taken from the writings of Egyptologists, who claim to have gotten it from the ancient Egyptians, and one that has been passed upon by others and for the most part accepted so far as I can judge. So far as I can determine, not one of these Egyptologists ever heard of Freud and his works. Some of them certainly did not since their work antedates that of Freud. So if there is a distortion in the picture I have presented and if it is an artifact, the creation of minds predisposed to find in the world around them a reflection of their own psyche and its mechanisms, then I believe it to be the creation of my predecessors in the field and not mine. And this projection is the very phenomenon I was seeking to demonstrate, as a property common to mankind.

This much in justification of the skeptical attitude I think can safely be said. The picture has been presented as one of a linear development with first and last stages. The historical perspective fades out and becomes uncertain when the archeologist and historian looks back some 5000 years. It seems to be a fact that Min and Osiris, for instance, were contemporaneous at the beginning of recorded history. What the historians of religious development present in their books is a constant conflict between these two types of god and the gradual and progressive triumph

patients shows that it is not so unnecessary to point it out. The delusion can be inferred to be the conclusion to a train of thought that ran (if it could have been formulated by the infant) "My mother produced certain feelings in me; I can produce the same feelings; therefore I am my own mother" ("in that one respect") should have been added to correct against the formation of the delusion which is based on the error of taking a part for a whole.

of the Osiris type of myth. It is this historical process which I have tried to picture in terms comparable to the psychosexual development of a single individual.

But perhaps we can leave this question of the linear development to the Egyptian theologians themselves? In the scenes preceding the primal scene where Amun, king of the Gods, calls the Gods together to announce to them what he proposes to do, these gods are arranged in serial order in two lines one above the other. In the top line beginning with Osiris there follows Isis and the rest of the Osirian group. In the lower line beginning with Mentu "lord of Thebes," then Atum "lord of Heliopolis" and his two children Shu and Tefnut, then Geb and Nut (the original first pair). Atum is the only figure in this scene *not a restoration* and he was the original masturbating god who produced children by the act, Shu his son, Tefnut his daughter.

What exactly the arranger of this scene meant is perhaps not known, but in any case it does represent a serial order, two serial orders, one above the other, and the superior order did come in the course of history to supersede the lower line.

We thus have pictured for us quite unintentionally as the work of the creative Unconscious the metapsychological process whereby conscious psychology can be shown to be a series of successive deformations and transformations of an original but repressed oral relationship to mother displaced in turn to father in the Oedipus situation. In both instances the process works by a selective perpetuation of a part for a whole. I am not asserting that this is the whole or even the correct story. It is a theory of psychological ontogeny.

That this particular picture should also have pictured in the lower line the process of repression by the destruction and restoration of every figure in the line except that of Atum, is simply, we may say, a curious coincidence, an accident of history which enhances the value of our example to illustrate a point. It is only that and nothing more. But the psychoanalyst is constantly having impressed on himself the frequency with which such curious coincidences occur.

The Egyptian interpretation of the act of self-generation differs in an interesting way from ours. They did not interpret

it as "I am my own mother," but as "I am my own father," for that is the meaning of the name Ka-mut-f (Bull of his mother) borne by the chief gods. Dimly discernible behind this difference in interpretation goes another point which seems to me of great interest even though we do not yet know how to deal with it in psychoanalysis. The behavior we have been surveying is the outcome of, to express it in terms of verbs, concern with the verbs "to be" and "to become," not at all a concern with the verb "to have." For the early approach of psychoanalysis the expression "I am my own mother" meant "I have my mother (on myself)." After twenty-five years Freud discovered a way to deal with the phenomena associated with the verb "to be." But our explorations into this psychological territory are only beginning.

We can summarize the results of our survey in parallel columns:

<i>cultural phenomena</i>	<i>individual phenomena</i>
Omnipotent first principle who by masturbation (or auto-fellatio) conquers his loneliness by peopling the void	Masturbating infant in the phase of magic-omnipotence compensating for the loss of his mother. Ideas solipsistic (aut-archic fiction)
Primal scene introduced for the sake of gaining a more exalted father and a change of sex, with the aim of maintaining a status quo into which some innovations have been introduced. Repressed. It sets fashions for the duration of Egyptian history.	Primal scene which exercises a determinative influence on the individual's subsequent psycho-sexual make-up, especially when repressed.
Primal scene coincides with a pushing of the maternal aspects into the background. Mother relationship displaced to father.	Oral relationship to mother recedes into background.

Phallic elements begin to become more evident and increasingly so in Egyptian religious ideology, especially in relation to women (who are endowed with a separable penis).	Increasing predominance of the phallic.
Gradual emergence of the Osiris myth to dominate religious ideology and the increasing importance of the struggle for immortality.	Construction of the super-ego out of the fragmentation and repartitioning of the Oedipus phantasies.
Importance of Horus for giving immortality (soulship) to Osiris by an act of self-castration (symbolized in the Horus Eye which becomes a name for the sustaining food offered the dead). As a living man the king is Horus, as a dead man he hopes to become an Osiris.	Restitution impulses on the part of the Ego. (Little has been said in psychoanalysis as to the influence exercised by the Ego over the Super-ego. But since the Ego chooses to get analyzed, and inasmuch as that alters the Super-ego, there is more control than has been recognized, even though it be indirect.)
Activity is thought of as masculine.	No clear differentiation established as yet between activity and masculinity in analytic theory.
Self-creativity.	Libidinous energy of the Id.

In both columns it can be shown that in the background of the creative aspect is a hostile attempt at denial of what had existed.

When we cast our retrospective eye back over the course we have come, what is to the writer a rather surprising and unforeseen line of development stands out. With hesitation he admits it. It seems so obvious it should have been seen and known long before. But that is like so many of our psychoanalytic findings after we have made them.



We started out to see what we could discover about the reciprocal relationship of man and his culture from the consideration of an Egyptian primal scene. The one thing that impresses the writer is that in this instance man has used this event, this primal scene, to project his forbidden Id impulses which he could then accept as coming back justified and imposed upon him by external reality. But this external reality is just that which was created by men. It was a conceptual scheme in the form of a social structure which is depicted as being designed and ordered by the gods who embody just the forbidden Id impulses. All this, of course, is exactly parallel to what goes on in the analytic situation whereby what was Id becomes translated into conscious ego by way of being projected on to the analyst and then accepted or rejected by the Ego. So much, at least, should be by now a commonplace to an analyst.

What is new to the writer, and is clearly to be seen retrospectively, is that this course of psychic events embraces the concept of the soul. The fictitious object which was used to incarnate and represent the forbidden Id impulses eventually came to be called the soul. The object, the god, came very definitely to be conceived by the Egyptians as giving man his soul. And this was evidently conceived in much the same sense as this word receives with us. It is that principle which has to do with the perpetuation of otherwise transient and ineffectual but constantly recurring impulses. And in this sense meaning is given to the idea embraced as a corollary: that it is the life impulse itself. But this soul was not the soul of man, it was the soul of Osiris, the dead man who is clearly an externalized replica of the Super-ego.

What we have then is a clear picture of Id forces motivating and supporting the Super-ego. In the course of so doing, these Id impulses lose some of their earthy connections, a fact which is pictured by visually representing the soul as a bird. There is more to be said: the Id impulses motivate just the institution Osiris which passes judgment on these same forces in man and condemns some of them to extinction. In the Egyptian picture, Osiris, whose soul is a god one of whose roots is the act of masturbation (to stick to one of many possible Id impulses our material dealt with), passes judgment on and condemns to extinction this very act in the men who created the god and deified the dead man.

Clearly man does not gladly relinquish his auto-erotic acts, and if he is again able to masturbate by way of identification with the god, then he has been able to resume the act by way of a process of "spiritualization."

This was the course of events in the Egyptian instance we have followed out. Whether one can generalize from this single instance and say that this is universally the course of developments we may not say without the consideration of further material.

## THE VENUS OF WILLENDORF

BY MAX KOHEN

In 1908, Szombathy and Bayer found in the loess of Willendorf\* in a layer belonging to the Aurignacian, a statuette of limestone, a little more than four inches high. It represents a naked woman on whose mature body the breasts and hips are very prominent. The statuette to which its discoverers gave the name: "The Venus of Willendorf", illustrates most beautifully what an astounding mastery of art man attained in the paleolithic period. An artist's loving care has created it about 25,000-30,000 years ago, working painstakingly with the help of fine tools of stone. What strikes one in this little sculpture is the presentation of the head. While the rest of the body, which has been shaped with great naturalism, shows neither clothes nor any ornament worth mentioning, the head is covered completely by a braided thing of globular form worked out quite distinctly. The significance of this cover has not been understood so far. The whole body is naked. Why is just the head covered? Why is it covered in such a conspicuous way?

Psychoanalysis has revealed the anxieties, tendencies and reactions of prehistoric man which are being repressed to the unconscious nowadays. Encouraged by these discoveries I shall try to solve the puzzle of that precious and startling work of art. It apparently contains, and has handed down to us, a piece of reality that thousands of years later has developed, in poetry, myth, dreams and folk customs, the motif of the "covered head".

I hope to prove in the following that the motif of the covered head has derived from the various anxiety affects that were emanating from the mother. If I succeed, we shall have found the key to the solution of our problem.

Closely connected with the image of the mother is man's original anxiety. It is the birth-anxiety, caused, and being caused anew with every human being, by the dyspnoea during the process of birth, by the painful experience of being pushed from the warm

\*A small place situated on the Danube in upper Austria.

and soft and protected darkness of the womb into the cold, into the glary light, into the hardship of individual life. Birth-anxiety is the first cause for the ambivalent attitude towards the mother. As the one who creates, who feeds, who protects, who educates, she is the object of love. As the one who caused the choking disпноea, the shock of birth, she is the object of fearful awe. The temptation to incest and the fear of castration aggravate this conflict in the soul of the male child, they enhance the ambivalence in the son's feelings; for, in spite of all anxiety affects, the mother's womb is the paradise lost. To regain it is man's eternal, though unconscious aim, is the goal of all man's efforts during his life; but it is only through death that it can be reached.

The ambivalence of the emotional tendencies towards the woman, that is towards the mother, is reflected in the character of the female deities from cruel Kali and horrifying Medusa to mysterious Demeter and, lastly, to the most kind and benevolent Madonna. The divine women who stimulated the imagination of the faithful at all times show the various aspects of one and the same great mother goddess who, on her part, has been created by combining and condensing the long row of mother images of the prehistoric era. The variety of feelings women may stir up in men have found a strikingly manifest expression in the conception of the Indian goddess Bhavani. She is the wife of the god Shiva, but at the same time she has intercourse with her three sons, the gods Trimurti. As Brahma's mistress she is Maja, the spinning deity of household arts; in Vishnu's arms she is Lakshmi, the Indian Aphrodite. She is Durga, the goddess of the star Venus; when related to its two aspects Lucifer and Hesperus, she is goddess of love and of war respectively. She is Kali, the cruel and shameless goddess of lust and death who frightens man with her gaping vulva, who humiliates, mistreats and castrates him. As good and evil, heaven and earth are enclosed in her, as she is motherly as well as cruel, chaste as well as shameless, she is the likeness of the original mother. She is, moreover, the image, projected to the sky, of the same woman whom the artist of Willendorf once has portrayed. Indeed, that woman too was loved—we know it because the artist was urged by his feelings to sculpture her body in stone—but she was feared as well. Therefore she had to cover her head, as we shall see in the present disquisition.

We know that it is psychic impotence where the son's fear of his mother finds a very conspicuous expression. The fear originates from both individual and phylogenetic sources. Frequently the men who suffer from it are, as is well known, sexually impotent only with such a woman who reminds them—be it even unconsciously—of their own mother. The fear which is produced by the sight of that woman, quenches his sensual desire. It may, however, be revived by complete darkness—a fact of considerable consequence for the solution of our problem. Since darkness makes invisible the face of the woman who substitutes the mother, the factor that otherwise makes the defense mechanism work, is absent.

Well known are also those incest dreams where either the dreamer can not recognize the face of the forbidden partner or the latter appears without a head. According to a footnote of Rank's (*Incestmotiv* p. 322) Ferenczi refers to several dreams of one of his patients which contained such a disguised incest with his mother. In these dreams the patient was engaged with corpulent women whose face he did not see and with whom he was unable to perform coition. Does not this dream figure remind us of the Venus of Willendorf, the corpulent woman whose face can not be seen?

The psychic power that hides away the face of the forbidden partner in incest dreams, makes it hard for many people also when awake to recall the countenance of persons they love. The harder they try the less they succeed in forming the clear mental image they want. Their effort of will strikes a distinct obstacle: the incest barrier. In this connection also the typical case of Saint Aloysius calls our attention. According to his contemporary Cepary, he was so pious that he never dared to look at the face of a woman nor could he bear to be alone with his mother in a room.

The sight of the beloved woman's face, because it brings the incest barrier to bear, causes an anxiety affect which diminishes, or even prevents, the enjoyment of love. It is understandable that the lover, very likely without realizing the connection himself, covers the face of his mistress; it is a strange, but safe way for ensuring the undisturbed possession of the woman. Many instances taken from both poetry and reality indicate how widespread and effective the procedure is.

Rank (*Incestmotiv* p. 127) relates the contents of a drama of Lope de Vega's: The bride of the duke of Ferrara is faithless to her husband and commits adultery with her stepson whom the father had sent as his deputy when he proposed to her. The duke overhears them. He commands the woman, her face covered, being shackled to a chair; then he orders his son to kill her, alleging the fettered person to be a dangerous public criminal. The son hesitates, full of apprehension, but finally fulfills his father's command and—on the duke's order—is stabbed to death himself by the guards. The stepmother had to be substituted for the mother because of the poet's own psychical reaction (Rank 1. c. p. 119f) and the motif of the lovers who die together (Rank 1. c. p. 130 footnote) disguises the idea that, in spite of all resistance from without and within, the incest desire has been fulfilled. The poet thus had in mind to invent a scene where, although in poetic disguise, the son has sexual intercourse with his mother in spite of his father's efforts to check him. For this purpose the mother's face had to be covered since otherwise she would have scared the son and deterred him from his endeavor.

The same motif, shaped into an almost identical form, we find among the Nordic myths with which the Spanish dramatist of the sixteenth century hardly was acquainted. In an extended version of the Sigurd myth, Swanhild, the betrothed bride of King Jormunrekr, is said to have been faithless to her bridegroom by having intercourse with his son Randver (also in this myth the son had brought the father's offer of marriage to her). She is fettered in the gate of the castle (cf. Freud, *Vorlesungen* p. 176) and is doomed to become trampled to death by horses. The beasts, however, don't dare to touch her when she looks at them. Not until her head has been shrouded, the horses crush her while Randver is led to the gallows on his father's order. (*Voelsunga Saga* 49).

In the history of the Danish King Olo, which has been handed down to us by Saxo, his vassal Starkather intends to stab the king during his bath, but he shrinks back frightened by the flashing eyes of the defenceless man. The king, however, does not suspect anything and since he is well aware of his fearful eyes he covers his face and asks Starkather to come nearer. Now the latter



thrusts his sword through the king's body. In this case, apparently, the power of causing anxiety has become transferred to the father (Rank, *Trauma der Geburt* p. 16) and so has the gesture of covering the face while it is usually the mother who does not want to frighten her son when he approaches her. The purpose of the gesture is manifest in Saxo's story: it encourages satisfaction of desire without fear; in the case of Starkather it made possible the murder, which as it is performed through a sword that pierces into a body serves as a symbol for sexual intercourse. What was meant originally, and is now hidden behind the myth, very probably was that the mother covered her head to make the incestuous act possible to her son. Whether that occurred in reality or merely in the imagination stirred by infantile wishes is of minor importance in this connection, the more so as the wishful imagination probably could be traced back to real happenings in prehistoric times.

In the well known Greek myth, Perseus beheads the Gorgo Medusa. With her head he turns Polydektes into stone who was about to force Danae, Perseus' mother, into marriage. It is easy to realize that Medusa is but Danae's double. In the world of myth which is full of infantile imaginations, Perseus uses his own mother's head, with the horrifying effect of which he is familiar, to frighten his rival so that he dies. The beheaded Medusa is equivalent to the mother without head who appears in dreams. The latter motif may help us to get a deeper insight into the meaning of the "covered head". The same ambivalence as characterizes the attitude towards the mother can be pointed out in man's reaction to the female genitals. The fact that women have no penis causes in all men a kind of horror, a feeling that could be expressed best by the words: "The same could happen to you." The one who has been castrated may in turn become the one who will castrate. I can not, in this place, discuss the numerous data by which it is shown that the conception of the woman as a dark enigma—a conception all men share—originates from her lack of the penis, from her being castrated. Nor can I prove here that all "frightening mothers" show either "symbols of castration" as characteristics or, on the contrary, "symbols of the penis". The latter have to be understood as efforts to dissemble the fright-

ening lack of the penis. It is safe to assume, as *Freud* and *Ferenczi* did, that Medusa's head is a symbol of the frightful female genitals. If that is true, lack of the head can but mean lack of the penis; "to behead", therefore, or to "cover the head" must mean castration.

The combination of the two motifs, incest and lack of the head, we also find in the German fable "Sinful Love" as told by the brothers Grimm: "On the Petersberg near Erfurt, there is a tomb of brother and sister whose figures are carved on the raised tombstone. The sister had been so beautiful that the brother when coming back after he had been abroad for some time was seized by ardent love and sinned with her. Soon the devil tore off the heads of both. On the tombstone their likeness was hewn, but here too the heads disappeared from the bodies. New ones of brass were put in their place, but those too vanished. Even if one drew the faces with chalk, everything was blotted out the next day." Rank when citing the myth (*Incestmotiv* p. 461) points out the striking similarity between the disappearing of the heads and the defense mechanism in those dreams where the face of the forbidden partner can not be seen.

The veiled image of Sais in Egypt, famous in antiquity, likewise reminds us of Medusa's terrifying head. Nobody was allowed to remove the veils since the sight of the image would have killed him. Our knowledge of the divine image of Sais is based on mere tradition, we have no definite data about it. It had perhaps some likeness with the veiled Rhea of Villa Albani in Rome, a strange and austere statue. The heart of him who looks at it pauses beating because he senses, in his unconscious, behind the thick veils the castrating mother. She is death (conceived of as a woman by the Romanic nations), she comes to ask back the life she had bestowed. And yet, a wave of ardent love counter-veils against the horror this marble statue emanates. It is, as Alfred Jeremias (*Der Schleier von Sumer bis heute*; in "Der Alte Orient, Band 31, Heft 1/2, 1931) puts it: "Unique in classical archeology". This is understandable; for the female head without face expresses so clearly things forbidden and repressed from the conscious that an artist hardly ever dares to invoke, in so transparent a disguise what had been forgotten.

The Jews, whose attitude toward their father-god is a feministic masochistic one, dare not appear bareheaded before him; the orthodox among them shroud themselves during their prayers completely with a cloth. They seem to imitate, as if spellbound, a gesture of their God, who covers his frightening head in order that the devout be able to approach him.

The apostle Paul enjoins (1. Kor. 11; 5. 6. 13): "But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head, for that is even all one as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn; but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered." . . . "Judge in yourselves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?" We should suppose that the fighter for God would not fuss very much about an item of women's fashion. However, his violent aversion against the unveiled female face—an aversion created by anxiety—leads him to commands for which he tries in vain to find a reason himself. He offers the alternative either to disfigure the faces of the women by shaving their heads—as if he wanted to combat danger by ugliness—or to cover their heads.

Also to the Basques shaving the head has the same significance as shrouding it. This people led the secluded, isolated life that is characteristic of mountaineers, for thousands of years. It preserved some very old cultural traits in language, customs and mentality until recent times. Strabo tells (Iberia III, 164) that some women among the Basques depilated their hair around the brow so that it shone like the front while others covered their head down to the globes of the ears with a cap. That custom was retained through many centuries although the alternative of either shaving or shrouding the head became obscured in the course of time. Andreas de Poça mentions in the description he made in 1587 A.D. that the married Basque women had their hair shaved and their head covered with a real turban. The orthodox Jewish women too shave their heads and wear a wig. That custom can still be observed here and there.

In ancient Israel it was the harlot who showed her willingness to prostitute herself by wearing a veil in public. That becomes evident from Genesis 38, 15, where Juda is reported to have

considered his daughter in law, Thamar, as a whore "because she had covered her face." The prostitute wore a veil so that the man might not hesitate to take possession of her nor be prevented from satisfying his lust by his awe of womanly dignity, of the mother embodied in her. It may be appropriate to adduce here a trait we find frequently in myths and fairy tales, for instance in "Allerleirauh", a fairy tale told by the brothers Grimm: People cover or black their face in order not to be recognized by their kinsfolk. Not to be known is the presupposition for performing the forbidden sexual intercourse.

Herodot relates (I, 199) that the Babylonian women when they obeyed the religious prescription to prostitute themselves in the temple of the goddess Mylitta once in their life, wore a "wreath of cord" on their heads. A close inspection will reveal that also the face of the Venus of Willendorf is covered by a twisted or entwined rope which begins on the vertex and winds in spirals around the whole head.

In many parts of the earth there was and there still is the custom that the married woman, that means: the mother, makes herself recognizable by a special way of covering her head. Frequently the mere fact that the head is being covered distinguishes the married woman from the unmarried one. Even today the German phrase "Unter die Haube kommen", literally: "to come under the hood" is applied to a girl's becoming married. In Latin the bride is called "nupta", which word is derived from "nubo" to veil. In ancient Rome she wore a special head covering of flaming red color, the flammeum. It seems that originally the function of the veil—no longer understood in later times—was everywhere the same: to prevent the mother's face, or the face of the woman who substituted the mother, from causing anxiety. No other motive brought about the veiling of the oriental women whatever reasons may be offered today.

Perhaps we are even entitled to assume that it was the veil that made it possible for the sexes to come together. The woman who veiled her face dispelled the dangers that the man believed her to originate. The veil through which she indicated her willingness to have sexual intercourse became the sign of female surrender. When Rebekah, in the biblical narration of her bridal

journey, (Genesis 24) sees Isaac, her future husband (verse 65), "she took her veil and covered herself". (Luther is wrong in supposing that the piece of fabric that served her as a veil was a cloak). That gesture could not have the same conscious purport in ancient orient as it has there in our times, that is, it could not denote a modest shrinking back from a man's glance; for when, as it is told in verse 17, she saw Isaac's servant, who had come to sue her for his master, the meeting with the stranger does not prompt her to shroud her head. Not until she has arrived at the end of her journey and learns that she stands before her bridegroom does she veil herself. Through her gesture she indicates her willingness, and Isaac, who is aware of its meaning, leads her into his dead mother's tent, as if Rebekah were supposed to take the place of the mother. And since she had veiled herself, it became possible that "Isaac was comforted after his mother's death" as verse 67 puts it.

The Indian Department in the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin possesses a series of delightful miniatures of the 18th century, illustrations to Indian folk songs, the so called ragas. They represent a loving couple in all the phases of courtship. In all pictures, except for the last one, the woman is unveiled. She is, as becomes also evident from her natural and unembarrassed carriage, neither a novice wanting to hide her confusion behind a veil, nor a coquette using the same means for simulating modest shyness. In the last scene, however, a rose colored veil has been added to her attire. Her partner is near the goal of his wishes; the woman turns aside her face to put the veil over it. The ritual of Indian customs, which is observed in these scenes, apparently asks the woman who is about to surrender to the man to show her willingness through veiling her face.

The veil as utensil in Indian erotism is again found in a miniature of the 17th century, which has been reproduced in J. Stehoukine, *La Peinture indienne à l'époque des Grand Moghols*, Paris 1929, pl. LVI. This picture bears out our judgment as to the lady's gesture in the Berlin miniature; for its title, which runs: "L'héroïne qui a entièrement soumis à son amant" admits no doubt about the gist of the scene. Among all the female figures, however, that the Indian miniatures in Stehoukine's book

depict, only and exclusively the woman who is represented as submitting to her lover has become furnished with a veil for her face. Moreover, the item that has been added here to the female array calls our attention because of its size and elaborate delineation. It is, therefore, very likely to have some relation to the significance of the scene and thus to the sexual act the scene suggests. The woman is about to raise the veil, part of which still rests on her breast, in order to cover her face. Through this gesture she indicates, as Rebekah did long before her, that she is willing to submit to her lover's wish.

We know that the role that is assigned to priests contains numerous feminine characteristics. It is, therefore, appropriate to adduce in this disquisition some instances that refer to clergymen or to monks. There is, to start with, the Roman flamen who was not allowed to appear bareheaded and was distinguished by a headcloth or a pointed white cap. There are, moreover, the Catholic priests with their tonsure and their variously shaped hats. Especially worthy of our attention, however, is the raiment of some Japanese beggar monks. On their wanderings they wear instead of a hat a basket in which their head is hidden completely. The shape and size of this headgear—it reaches so far down as to hide the mouth—recall the braided cover that serves to make unrecognizable the woman of Willendorf.

According to Wellhausen, *Arabisches Heidentum*, 2, 135, the Arabian prophets too veiled themselves when they were inspired by their visions and started prophesying. Hence the words "Dhul Chimar" that is "the man with the veil", which were added to the names of several famous prophets. They veiled themselves only when prophesying, that is when performing a function that originally seems to have pertained to the women's domain. All these features are symbols of castration, symbols we find about priests all over the earth to indicate their surrender to God.

Although I could not tell whether, nor to which degree, there is a connection with my subject, I should like, for the sake of completeness, to point out two more examples of covering the head: 1) Veiling as a sign of mourning, which is mentioned as early as in the Bible. (Also in this significance it alternates with shaving the head, for instance, 2 Sam. 19; Jer. 48, 37). 2) Veil-



ing those who have been sentenced to death, which is narrated in Esther 7, 8 and is still practiced in France: The Code pénal orders to cover the parricide's head when he is led to the scaffold.

The statuette of Willendorf is not the only sculptural work of its kind that has been preserved. I won't discuss some bone carvings found at Predmost in Moravia and kept in the State Museum of Brno because we can not decide with certainty whether they are examples for the "covered head" or simply products of poor workmanship. There is, however, a special kind of images excavated on the island of Malta which are, as to their conception, closely related to the work of Willendorf. They are eight to sixteen inches high, made of limestone, and represent heavily built women in a sitting position—women judges or mother deities or female ancestors. This whole group of works of prehistoric sculpture is characterized by the lack of heads. (There are some specimens in the British Museum, Central Salon). The heads have not broken off, but were worked separately and can easily be put on and taken off. This is manifest from a hole on the upper end of the torso, and has, in addition, be proved in a disquisition published by the Royal Anthropological Institute (*Journal of the R. Anthr. Inst.* vol. LIV, 1924, pp. 67-100). Actually, there have been found several heads provided with a pluglike neck that fitted in the hole of the torso. The man in charge of the pertinent department of the British Museum wrote me that the heads probably were put on only on solemn occasions. To me, however, it seems as much justified to assume that, on the contrary, they were taken off on such occasions or during sacral ceremonies; for it was not until the frightening heads had been removed that it became possible for the profane to go near the sacred images.

The evolution from the primitive braided head-cover the Aurignacian woman used for hiding her face to the rayon mask of modern carnival is immensely important from a technical, but not significant from a psychological point of view. Carnival, the authorized breaking through of the repressed, relieves the psyche in regular intervals—as the orgies did in former times—from the burden of suppressed drives; it aims at promiscuity with its risk of incest. It is the woman—a significant feature—who must not

be recognized at a masked ball while the man may participate without wearing a mask. As long as he does not know his partner's face nor, as a consequence, her personality, which otherwise might inspire him with awe, he need not restrain himself. The woman, on the other hand, who is freed from all restriction at the masquerade, wants to make her quasi incestuous choice without being embarrassed, and the man can accept it without anxiety thanks to the fact that her face is being hidden. The mask that covers the face makes possible and provokes licentiousness today as it did in former times.

Those women who, in dreams, myth, poetry or reality, hide their face, are mothers, are castrated themselves and, on their part, threatening to castrate. They veil themselves before her sons to spare them anxiety. On the other hand, the veil itself enhances anxiety. Man sees his own mother in the woman; it is she whom he loves and at the same time fears. Something of the son is left in man; it is he who suffers from his ambivalent attitude towards the woman; he can not bear to look at her, and yet, he covets her embrace. This general statement justifies in our individual case the following conclusion: The woman who posed as a model for the artist of Willendorf was his mother. She shrouded her head that she might not frighten her son, who wanted to look at her, to portray her, to possess her. He would have been able to reproduce any other woman's body without needing that sign of invitation, that bridge to intimacy which are represented by mask and veil. Before his own mother, however, he felt embarrassed. The anxiety that would have been created by the sight of her uncovered face was bound to paralyze his artistic and sexual potency.

The loving man of today does not react differently from that of the paleolithic era. The lover who, without being consciously aware of it, fears incest and castration is afraid of the brightness of day. Unrestrained sensual love has to take refuge in the darkness of night everywhere.

Furthermore, because man is afraid of the castrating mother, whom he sees in all women, his imagination fashions them as beings of extreme kindness and gentleness. Since the sight of the woman frightens him although he longs for her body, he shrouds her in the cloak of fiction, he hides her behind mask and veil, he wraps her in darkness; and he closes his eyes so that he might not see her.

## WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED IF . . .

BY HANNS SACHS

Boston

Fantasy builds castles in the air—but these airy halls and towers have a definite and strict relation to the solid facts of life. Glittering and unsubstantial, they are not built up by willful whimsies; their structure is made of a peculiar sort of reality, the reality of possibilities.

Every daydreamer finds the starting point for his fancy-work in one and the same situation: if something had happened otherwise than it actually did or hadn't happened at all, what might have been then? Here is a big opening for the beginning of wishful thinking of any sort. This is the point where the ordinary reality and the wish fulfillment, molded into a semblance of possibility by fantasy, have their parting of ways. Consequently it is the point on which the poet, as the mastermind among the daydreamers, starts; it is the nucleus of his creation.

The best story by the Austrian poet Grillparzer—who was generally more of a playwright than of a story teller—is: "Der arme Spielmann" (the poor fiddler). The hero's father is an important and ambitious man. At a public examination the son has to recite some Latin verses which he knows very well, but he stumbles over the word "cachinum" which he cannot remember, and gets so confused that he fails to pass the examination. The father is deeply hurt by this humiliation and stops the son's studies. The boy becomes a humble copying clerk. He falls in love with a girl of a much lower social standing, whom he can not marry because of his poverty. He sinks deeper and deeper in the world and becomes in the end a common street fiddler without, however, losing anything of his moral integrity and purity of mind. He finds his death by saving a child from drowning.

The episode at the examination and the stumbling over the word "cachinum" has happened to Grillparzer himself, as he tells in his autobiography, but it had none of the fatal consequences which the author attributes to it in his history. His

father, although generally a very conscientious man, sent the professor a present and in this, not strictly correct way procured for his son the passing of the examination and with it the entrance to the university.

The difference between fact and fiction shows where the poet's mind went off at a tangent. What would have happened if his father had not come to the rescue? He would not have become the director of the state-library (Hof-Bibliothek) nor a famous poet; but then he would have avoided the petty conflicts and frustrated ambitions. He would have lived a life of obscurity, but also of perfect purity, unhampered by the trivialities of middle-class existence. Grillparzer's bitterness and sarcastic epigrams leave no doubt in which direction his daydreams moved.

Gottfried Keller's story "Frau Regel Amrain und ihr Jüngster" (Regula Amrain and her Youngest Son) begins with the following situation. (This psychoanalytic viewpoint has been treated by Dr. E. Hitschmann in his book on Gottfried Keller). After her husband left her and the children to escape from his creditors she tries to keep the business going and has to rely a great deal on her manager. This young man plans to make himself master of the woman and the business at the same time. One evening when he has come to see her about some business matters he embraces her and tries to overcome her resistance. She defends herself, but her defense is already weakening when her youngest boy is awakened by the subdued noise in the next room. He understands dimly what is going on, but feigns the belief that his mother is menaced by a robber. Springing out of his bed he attacks the young man. The mother, after explaining to him that no robber but only the well known manager is in the room, quiets him and puts him back to bed. Anyhow, the love scene is interrupted and she is confirmed in her decision to remain single. She becomes deeply grateful to the youngster and decides that she will make a man of him. The other children don't appear any more in the story which is entirely devoted to the ideal relations between mother and son. When the father in the end comes home the son is able to stand up against him as man against man.

Gottfried Keller's father died when he was very young and his mother actually married the business manager. The marriage was an unhappy one and ended in divorce.

The scene described above is evidently the one where the reality took a turn for the worse and the fantasy tried to replace it by a better solution. What if he had been awakened and had interfered just at the right moment? How much bitterness would have been spared to him! How beautiful his life would have been if he had spent his youth in an untroubled relation with his mother!

Turning to English literature means of course first to Shakespeare. The heroes of most of his comedies and some of the other plays are quite outspokenly hunting for an heiress. Money is an object of their matrimonial plans which they never forget. The most naive of them is Claudio in "Much Ado About Nothing". He first asks if Leonato has any sons and when he is told that he has no child but Hero he starts in lyrical tones to declare his deep seated and long standing love for her. The most brutal in this respect is Petruchio in "The Taming of the Shrew",

If thou know  
One rich enough to be Petruchio's wife,—  
As wealth is burden on my wooing dance,—  
Be she as foul as was Florentius' love,  
As old as Sibyl, . . .

Bassanio, the glorified type of these young men who try to make their fortune by marrying money, has not enough funds to make a decent appearance while he aspires to the hand of Portia, the rich heiress.

The same motive recurs in a less blatant manner in other plays. For instance in "Cymbeline" where Leonatus, of humble rank, has married the princess Imogen.

Shakespeare was an excellent and very successful money maker. Leaving his home-town penniless, as the son of a bankrupt father, he returned to it as the richest man, the owner of the best house. The theater at that time was a good source of income, but it needed certainly a head for business to amass in twenty years a fortune. The only letter belonging to Shakespeare's personal correspondence which we possess is one in which the writer asks him for a loan—an unusual thing with poets.

In the matter of marriage Shakespeare seems to have been less

successful. It is almost certain that, by what we would call a shot-gun wedding, he was constrained to marry a girl much older than himself and with child by him.

Shall we consider the bard as a merely mercenary person who in his fantasy extended his successful money operations to the field of marriage where he had actually failed? This would mean to seek the spring of his fantasy at a too low and common level. What he dreamt of, probably most intensely in his first years of poverty in London, was about a kind and loving, delicate and charming woman who would bring into his life all the beauty and refinement and would rescue him from humiliation and ugliness by the sheer love and magnanimity of her soul; just the thing Desdemona does for Othello.

The plots of Charles Dickens are too artificial and complicated to give much scope for any investigation of this sort. Anyhow, we know that Dickens as a youngster ate his heart out because first destitution and then the neglect by his father—whom he immortalized in an unflattering way as Mr. Micawber—kept him from being educated and getting on in the world. In his novels we see a number of poor forsaken boys or young men finding a protector who rescues them from their miserable situation and gives to their lives a new turn upwards. Such a boy is the hero of one of Dickens' earliest novels, "Oliver Twist" and a similar episode figures prominently in the autobiographical novel which he wrote at the height of his fame and creative power: "David Copperfield". Such young men are Nicholas Nickleby and Martin Chuzzlewit. When Mr. Weller boasts to the dismayed Mr. Pickwick that he gave his son the best education by throwing him out in the streets, we can understand it as a faint echo of the bitterness Dickens felt for a father who was satisfied that the packing of bottles of shoe-polish provided sufficient education for his gifted son.

An especially interesting feature of our problem is given by the work of Jane Austin. In his article "The Myth in Jane Austin", Geoffrey Gorer (*AMERICAN IMAGO*, Volume II, Number III) has shown that an almost constant element in Jane Austin's novels is this: a brilliant, but morally unsound young man almost succeeds in captivating the affection of the heroine, but in



the end is defeated by his own weakness. Jane Austin lived and died as a spinster and there is no hint that any brilliant young man ever tried to get her love.

This is her daydream by which she fills out the vacuum, but with a characteristic tendency—a daydream to end all daydreams. The brilliant young man is bound not to succeed, a happy end in this direction is excluded and in its place comes the marriage with a thoroughly reliable, but much less attractive man. This strict rejection of any unreasonable self-indulgence even in romance and fantasy is characteristic for Jane Austin; it is the trait that gives to her world, as she delineates it in her novels, the firmness, solidity and the perfect clarity of outline, and the absolute repudiation of all foreign and inappropriate elements; with all the narrowness which it implies, this creates the great, one may almost say unique, charm of her work. The renunciation of all romantic fancies was as thorough in life as it was in her phantasy, but the positive wish-fulfillment, of being wooed by a serious, unromantic man, an idealized father-figure—this possibility was only realized in her creative work.

The highest form of this "would have been" fantasy we find in Dostoevski's last and greatest work "The Brothers Karamasov". Dostoevski's father, who was not at all like the lewd old Karamasov, but an extremely strict disciplinarian, was assassinated by his serfs whom he had oppressed beyond measure. In the novel the old Karamasov is killed by his sons, each of the four attempting or perpetrating the murder in his own way. The passionate Dimitri, who is the father's direct rival, almost commits the crime, but turns back at the last moment. The hyper-intelligent Ivan becomes half consciously, half unconsciously the wire-puller for the father's assassination and then falls into the abyss of insanity. Smerdakov, the epileptic criminal, kills outright for the booty, but can not stand his own deed and hangs himself. The last and youngest, Alosha, fulfills the ideal of goodness, selflessness and purity of mind, but he suffers an hysterical attack when he hears his father tell how he used to maltreat his wife, Alosha's mother. In this way we are shown that Alosha too is able to feel "aggressive impulses" against the father which he represses and overcompensates; yet they cause a hysterical equivalent since the attack is stirred up by the provocation of the father's story.

In Dostoevski's fantasy the sons replace the serfs. They too form a gang to kill the father among them. The work itself gives the answer to the question whom these united and so very different sons represent. All four of them are Dostoevski himself. Each is a part of his mind, of his affects and most of all, of his own Unconscious. This is to some extent true for every figure created by a great artist, but nowhere else it has reached the same degree of intensity as here. Everyone of the four is a perfect, absolutely complete human being; with none of them we get the impression that he is only a part or particle of an individual. They stand before us like statues that we can study from every side, not like a mere basrelief of which only some aspects show human likeness. Yet, while all these figures are complete individualities and as far different from each other as human beings can be, there is still a mysterious bond between them; we feel that they have in spite of all diversities a hidden identity which becomes manifest in their common urge for the parricide.

They are the blood and flesh of their begetter, but only all together represent him, not any single one of them. The possibility that Dostojewski should satisfy his hate against the father and oppressor is realized by the transformation of the solitary individual into a group of brothers.

Here lies the answer to the question about the value of an author's biography for the understanding of his work. The mere facts are in most cases meaningless. This seems to justify the opinion of those who maintain that literary schools and precepts, the spiritual trends of an epoch, artistic ideals and similar influences are the important factors. The existence of such elements cannot be denied, but behind them stands as the life-giving force the individual power which subordinates them to its purpose. This power can be discovered and understood with the help of the biographical data; not by accepting them as the raw material for the work, but by using them to find and fixate the exact spot where the creative fantasy was stirred, the spot where it deviated from the reality and replaced it by a world of its own making.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF IMPULSES INTO THE OBSESSIONAL RITUAL

BY HANNS SACHS

Boston

A common characteristic for the majority of obsessional neuroses is the ritual which gets established around the ordinary and routine acts of daily life. These acts, like dressing or undressing, washing, going to bed or using the toilet, touching or avoiding to touch certain objects, e.g., door-knobs or lamp-posts, have to be performed in an exactly prescribed manner, so that these simple acts absorb a disproportionate amount of time and attention. This amount becomes yet more excessive by the interference of the typical doubt which makes it necessary to repeat every one of these acts several times in order to make sure that they have been performed correctly. Anxiety, produced by any attempt to resist the compulsion, enforces obedience to the mysterious command.

The intensity of the force by which the performance of an insignificant act imposes itself on the Ego and the displeasure which is felt when this act cannot be achieved, is very similar to the situation arising when the urge for an instinctual satisfaction (wish-fulfillment) manifests itself in full strength and gets frustrated. The obvious difference lies in the fact that the urge of an instinct originates in the Id, whereas the obsession does not serve for the satisfaction of any recognizable Id-tendencies. There must be another motivating force at work which, if it does not entirely replace the Id, is at least strong enough to deflect its derivatives from their original aim. The ritual starts when the Ego becomes subservient to this other power.

There is a group of obsessional phenomena which here attract our attention by traits which distinguish them from the obsessional ritual. Freud describes them in his "Notes to a Case of Obsessional Neurosis."\* Their first appearance usually precedes the establishment of the obsessional ritual, sometimes by several years.

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\**Gesammt-Ausgabe*, Vol. VIII, pp. 329-30.

They stand in a more manifest relation to the phenomena of instinctual life since they urge—although under the form of a compulsion—not acts which are indifferent and void of affect, like the arranging of pillows or the smoothing out of sheets, but deeds which, if performed, would constitute so called “crimes of passion”. These impulses are mostly of an aggressive nature, very often homicidal or suicidal; they are kathexed with great affect, rejected by the Ego with the utmost energy and followed by an attack of anxiety. The acts toward which these impulses urge, are *never* actually carried out.

It seems that the appearance of these impulses marks a parting of the ways. The further development leads, as my experience has taught me, not always to an obsessional neurosis. It also happens that these impulses remain, i.e., return in more or less frequent intervals. Their dimly felt presence and the premonition of their return produces then one of the many forms of anxiety-neurosis. The self-protection of the Ego against the anxiety, produced by these impulses, usually creates a phobia, e.g., the avoidance of edge-tools, of fire-arms or high places and open windows.

Our interest belongs to the other way which leads to the obsessional ritual. Here the anxiety-signal is sufficient to initiate not only the suppression, but regularly also the repression of the offensive impulses; their obsessional character, i.e., their strangeness to the Ego does not suffice to procure their immunity. They disappear from consciousness and in their place comes, sooner or later, the obsessional ritual. Yet, their disappearance is not complete. They remain or return as mere “thought-contents” as the patients call them, that is without being endowed by any psychic energy neither obsessional or instinctual and, without accompanying affect; they are consequently free from anxiety. Yet it remains always possible that such an aggressive, obsessional impulse erupts again with its original affective strength, in spite of all the obstacles. Such an incident is reported by Freud, when his patient gets suddenly first the “command” to cut his throat and then the one to kill the grandmother of his beloved.\*

Our knowledge of the causation of obsessional neurosis by a regression of the libido to the anal-sadistic level enables us to rec-

\*Loc. cit. p. 298.

ognize the genuine instinctual origin of these impulses. Slight disguises and replacements have taken place; the persons against which the aggressive impulses are directed, are not identical with the original objects; not seldom the drive has been reversed against the patient's own person and appears as a suicidal impulse to which however the obsessional neurotic, as Freud points out repeatedly, doesn't give way. The rejection by the Ego is the natural consequence of this return of the Unconscious when it breaks through and enters consciousness without a carefully prepared disguise.

When we realize how much libido in its regressed anal-sadistic form is contained in these impulses, one special aspect of their differentiation from the subsequent obsessional ritual becomes important for our further understanding: The anxiety which is bound up with them, is caused by the urge to perform certain aggressive acts. Yet this urge is never complied with it. The ritual the compulsory demand carries no anxiety with it. The Ego goes through it with indifference or with resentment against an unnecessary and unintelligible imposition. The anxiety comes in here as the consequence of the opposite behaviour, namely of *not* performing the act, required by the compulsion—which consequently, gets performed.

The aggressive impulses with which we are dealing here belong to the Id. The reaction by anxiety is due to the fixation on the anal-sadistic level or the regression toward this earlier form of infantile libido. But it seems hardly credible that the vast amount of psychic energy which gets invested in the obsessional ritual, should be derived solely or principally from this source.

The contrast of the conditions under which anxiety appears in these two cases will be our best guide. We know that anxiety is a signal given to the Ego ("die Angststaette"), of the imminence of a dangerous drive. This danger, constituted originally by castration, later by the cruelty of the Super-Ego, is not eliminated by the repression. To the contrary, in giving back to the repressed drive its autonomy in the Unconscious and consequently aiding the anal-sadistic fixation, the condemnation by the Super-Ego becomes even more forceful. Nor is the rejection of the aggressive impulses a sufficient protection against the punishment

inflicted by the Super-Ego since the latter is much better informed about the existence of the repressed impulses than the Ego which is taken by surprise when they break through to consciousness and reacts with anxiety. Yet, the obsessional ritual in which the same or kindred impulses are at work, is not only free from anxiety, the obsessional neurotic is compelled to perform these acts which he considers as superfluous or nonsensical in order to keep himself free from anxiety. This can only mean that the Super-Ego instead punishing the impulses after they have succeeded in invading consciousness, now uses a more subtle technique of prevention. It insists that these silly and for practical purposes useless acts must be performed, as a protection against the forbidden acts, aimed at by the repressed impulses. For this reason it uses all its strength to force them on the Ego. The rejection by the Ego of the impulses, the refusal to act on them, the anxiety which follows their break through, were only the first stage of the conflict. A sort of "Alibi" had to be evolved under the heightened pressure of the Super-Ego and this "Alibi" is the ritual with its strict and endless obsessional demands. It became the next, but not last stage of the neurotic process as one of the "measures in closest connection with the protection against an impulse", as Freud says.\*

This implies that the ritual owes its origin and first development to the Super-Ego and not to the Id. In the service of the Super-Ego the ritual supplants the repressed wishes (which are, from the standpoint of the Super-Ego, identical with acts) and forms an almost permanent "Alibi". The ruling of the Super-Ego, to which the Ego consents with a more or less good grace, could be expressed as follows: "When you spend the best part of your time, of your attention, of your energy on these acts, then you are at least kept out of mischief." The Super-Ego assumes the attitude of the parental authority and resembles very much the bad step-mother who makes Cinderella pick the peas out of the ashes (by the by, a typical obsessional occupation), to keep her away from temptation.

We would expect that the ritual as an "Alibi" is needed most where the temptation is strongest. This expectation is not disappointed by the observable facts. The ritual, as has been men-

\*Loc. cit. p. 347.

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tioned, is nearly always most intense in relation to dressing, undressing, washing, excremental acts and touching or not touching certain objects. These have been the typical occasions when the infantile sexuality had been satisfied by genital or anal masturbation and related auto-erotic practices. It looks as if the ritual had been evolved in order to appease the Super-Ego by giving constant assurances: "See, I am not wanting to dirty my hands, I am washing them again and again. How could I possibly wish to touch my penis when I have to give so much thought and attention to touch the railings a given number of times?", etc.

According to Freud\*—"The obsessional ritual has the tendency to change its character. Beginning as a protection against repressed wishes it develops increasingly into substitute-gratification; especially the suppressed masturbation succeeds, under the form of obsessional acts, in becoming a more and more close approximation to the gratification."

The law of the return of the repressed tells us that these returns of repressed impulses happen by way of the same psychic formations and mechanisms which were originally instituted for the purpose of their repression. Applying this law to Freud's observation we find a confirmation of our hypothesis. Since the ritual is used finally, when it comes under domination of the Id, as a means of the return of the repressed impulses, it must originally owe its existence to the intention to keep these same impulses in repression.

The following extracts of a case history tend to demonstrate that the process of this transformation from impulse into ritual is sometimes open to the direct observation of the analyst. It concerns a man over thirty who suffered from a combination of anxiety-hysteria (phobia) and obsessional neurosis. One of the outstanding obsessional symptoms consisted in a ritual by which he was compelled to spoil the enjoyment of his weekend excursions. He was bound to study the road-maps, guide-books, etc., with the greatest attention before he set out on the excursion. During the trip he had to look at every monument, church, historical relic, etc., and to use every road indicated in the map with the strict-

\*Inhibition, Symptom and Anxiety, *Gesamt-Ausgabe*, Vol. XI, pp. 52 and 54.

est conscientiousness. Of course, the pleasure of the trip was almost entirely drowned in these obsessional duties. He remembered on several occasions, but without connection with this symptom, that at the time of his beginning puberty a woman who lived in the next house had attracted his attention. He looked at her from the porch, observed her doings and her dress and had several opportunities to see some part of her body or of her underwear. After a time he lost interest in these observations, but remembers—here too without the slightest knowledge of any causal connection—that at the same period he developed an intense interest in geography which soon took the form of an obsessional scrutiny of every detail in the maps of foreign countries. This symptom was renewed in later years in the form described above in order to meet his reawakened sexual curiosity; the temptation against which he reacted was naturally most intense during week-ends since he was usually accompanied by a woman whom he wanted consciously to forsake whereas he was unconsciously deeply fixated to her as a mother-substitute. Another attempt at sublimation which was concerned with his aggressive impulses, ended likewise in the deterioration to an obsessional ritual. The interest of the adolescent was aroused by things heard and occasionally observed about the harm done by alcoholism. The idea of a drunken father who maltreated his children filled him with horror and disgust. In his phantasy he became one of the children of such a cruel father. It is worth remarking that the patient's own father actually had nothing in common with this phantasy-figure, nor had the patient conscious memories of any harsh treatment by his father. On the contrary all childhood memories showed him as a kind and protective figure. All the same, the entire neurosis was founded on his unconscious fear of the father. The alcoholism and cruelty of the father in his phantasy were the projection of his own oral-sadistic repressed impulses. For a time this phantasy became so dominant that the patient decided he would become a great lawyer and devote all his ability to a crusade against alcoholism. In order to become a powerful orator he began to study the language and to enrich his vocabulary, but this degenerated more and more into an obsessional ritual of picking words out of the dictionary and memorizing mechanically their definitions so

that in the end he had to give up his plan which anyhow, during this process, had lost the intensity of affect with which it was originally endowed. Here the function of the ritual in stifling and deflecting the repressed impulses is as obvious as its use as an "Alibi": "I am not doing anything tending toward aggression. I am just playing with words."

In a mild case of obsessional neurosis a patient had to be very careful not to spill any liquid and, if it had happened, to remove any trace left of it. If he had spilled at table a few drops of water or wine or tea he had to wipe them off very carefully at once or to endure a certain measure of unpleasant tension. His childhood problem had been wetting himself. Memories of such incidents of which he was very much ashamed, reach from early childhood to his eighth year. Here the tendency to establish an "Alibi" against his repressed impulses is very simple: "Nobody can suspect me of wanting to spill my urine when I am so extremely cautious about spilling anything."

In giving a final survey of our problem we are reminded of the risk of exploring one side of it to the detriment of the others. Although the ritual is primarily a creation of the Super-Ego the Id-elements which eventually succeed in the end in appropriating it to their own uses, i.e., for instinctual gratification, are present from the start. Generally the ritual is far more concerned with the auto-erotic tendencies than with the aggressive ones. The Super-Ego reacts—broadly speaking—more directly and openly against the sadistic impulses. These may be dealt with sometimes—as in the case described above—by a ritual, but more often they are taken care of by reaction-formations, in a way which is generally characteristic for the obsessional neurosis.

This is done by expanding them far beyond their immediate scope and eventually elevating them to the rank of general leading ideas, like the opposition against oppression and cruelty or intolerance or other high ideals of a sensitive conscience. In other words, they become genuine parts of the character formation under the influence of the Super-Ego. In other cases these reaction-formations don't reach the stage of full transformation into character traits and remain on the level of obsessional symptoms, e.g. when a person is compelled to look back whenever he passes someone

in the street in order to make sure that he hasn't unwittingly hurt him. But even these symptoms have a good chance of getting justified in the eyes of the Ego on the plea of their close relation to the Super-Ego tendencies. They don't appear to the Ego of the patient as absolutely senseless; the one side of their motivation which overcompensates the aggressive impulses is appreciated. The guilt-feeling, which persists in spite of all that, drives home the truth that the aggressive impulses still exist, just as the anxiety which results if a part of the ritual is not correctly performed, proves that the urge for auto-erotic gratification is still active in the Unconscious.

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The publication of Volume 3 of "The American Imago" has been interrupted by the world-crisis; it is concluded after three years with this issue.

Volume 4 will be started immediately and we expect to be able to keep it within the limit of the current year. It will consist of four issues containing approximately 350 pages.

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